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The Shape of Things

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THE NEW CRISIS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS THE direct result of the constant Nazi intriguing in that country since the Munich agreement put it at Germany's mercy. Not content with its territorial conquests in the Sudetenland, Berlin has steadily pressed Prague for economic and political concessions. On many points the Czechs have yielded, but they have stood out on others, including a demand for a part of the Czech gold reserve. Meanwhile, Nazi agents have been busy encouraging separatist sentiment in Carpatho-Ukraine and Slovakia, the most economically backward and politically reactionary parts of the country. Last week Prague at last moved to halt disruptive movements in these two provinces, sending in troops and removing the local governments. This bold action brought hot denunciations from the German press, which quickly dusted off its old headlines about "Czech tyranny." At the time of writing Hitler is receiving with honors the deposed Slovak Premier, Dr. Tiso, and an ultimatum is reported to have gone out from Berlin ordering the division of Czechoslovakia into three "independent" states and the reorganization of the Prague regime. German occupation of Czechoslovakia to "restore order" is also hinted. In preparation, the Nazis in Slovakia are busy manufacturing disorder. In the face of these threats the Prague government shows signs of retreat. Indeed, it is in no position to resist. Hitler made sure of that at Munich, and nobody regards the tentative guaranty of the Czech frontiers given by Britain and France as more than a bad joke. This sudden crisis is an indication that lack of news recently about Germany's eastern drive is no proof it has been abandoned. After all, the east and west campaigns are halves of the same whole. Hitler can only feel free to put full pressure on Britain and France when he has consolidated not only his military but his economic position in the Danube Basin.

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ON ANOTHER PAGE LOUIS FISCHER REPORTS by cable on the struggle in Madrid. The position as he describes it coincides with the analysis of close observers here. Growing hatred of the Communists linked with a desperate desire for a quick peace made possible a coup

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that was undoubtedly planned in consultation with British and French interests; the coming overthrow of the Negrin government was known in Washington three days before it occurred. Every faction in Spain wants peace. The certainty of ultimate Fascist victory leaves only the problems of time and method. Negrin believed that the only hope of saving the lives of active Loyalist leaders lay in continuing the struggle and so making it worth Franco's while to offer some measure of amnesty. The Casado-Miaja faction now in power believes—perhaps honestly—that a government purged of Communist influences stands a better chance of winning decent conditions of surrender. Since Franco is in a position to dictate, and since he has never wavered in his insistence upon an unconditional surrender, the hopes of both groups were probably vain. In any case, whatever the merits of their calculations, it is certain that the coup and the brutal fratricidal struggle that followed have wiped out whatever faint chance existed of an "honorable peace." In spite of bitter political differences behind the lines, the army of the Republic for two and a half years has demonstrated a courage and solidarity almost unequaled in history. That these comrades should have turned to slaughtering each other in their hour of defeat is a tragedy almost as great as the defeat itself. Communist resistance to the new government is now apparently ended; all that remains is for Franco to pick the fruits of his victory.

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WHAT AWAITS THE LOYALIST SURVIVORS with the final triumph of the rebels was made clear long ago by General Franco himself. In an interview with a United Press correspondent in November, 1938, he announced that "we have more than 2,000,000 persons card-indexed with proofs of their crimes." Of late the Burgos regime has stated in answer to appeals for clemency from abroad that only those guilty of crimes will be punished; but the "law of political responsibilities" recently promulgated shows that under the Burgos definition of "crime" every person over fourteen years of age in any territory ever held by the Republicans is liable to punishment. And this is not all. The law is retroactive to October 1, 1934. Its clauses specify for punishment ranging from execution through exile and imprisonment to loss of civil rights those who held executive positions in the Popular Front parties, those charged with missions of trust by the Popular Front, those who organized the 1936 elections, and even Free Masons. Republican officials will be held punishable not only for acts "which would have brought conviction by a court martial or acts of political responsibility" but for failing to support the nationalist movement if they had the opportunity to do so or for showing "a passive attitude." Behind the Franco censorship the vast court martial of the Spanish people has already begun. And for lack of evidence to the contrary we may assume that the second Inquisition, like the first, will have the blessing of the Vatican.

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THE TRADE AND CREDIT AGREEMENT WITH Brazil represents a new kind of "dollar diplomacy." Unlike the old variety its primary aim is not the protection of American investors—though, incidentally, they may reap considerable benefit—but the mobilization of this country's economic power against the politico-commercial drive of fascism. It combines Secretary Hull's belief in expanding trade as a path to peace with the President's policy of enforcing "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind" by methods other than war. Our agreement with Brazil provides for an extension of credits by the Export-Import Bank, for a gold loan of $50,000,000, subject to the approval of Congress, to assist a new Brazilian Reserve Bank to achieve currency stabilization, and for technical aid for Brazilian development. Brazil, for its part, agrees to safeguard American investors against discriminatory treatment, to promote the production of non-competitive commodities, such as rubber, and to resume partial payments on the debt service suspended since November, 1937. With the means that the agreements provide for the reestablishment of credit and relaxation of currency restrictions, Brazil should be able to restrict, if not cancel, its barter arrangements with Germany, which have proved disadvantageous in many ways. Instead of being forced to accept whatever goods Germany chooses to dump in payment for raw materials, it will be able to buy railroad and other capital equipment in this country. The agreements will perhaps be criticized by those who feel that foreign investments stink of imperialism. But if Brazil is to raise its standard of living it must obtain capital from an industrial state. If the new agreements are carried out in the spirit of cooperation which their terms suggest, they can help remove the flavor of exploitation which has hitherto clung to our foreign investments.

*

CONGRESS CONTINUES TO BE EXTREMELY vocal on the subject of economy, but deeds are conspicuously lacking. One or both houses have considered five regular appropriation bills—independent offices, legislative, Treasury and Post Office, military establishment, and Interior Department—totaling around $4,282,000,000, or roughly $552,000,000 more than was provided for the current year. The gross reduction of this figure effected by Congress is only $56,000,000, and some of these cuts are not yet agreed on by both houses. The Senate has in fact shown a tendency to reject the economies favored by the House. Thus it restored $17,000,000 for the TVA and $2,000,000 for New England hurricane relief, and the House meekly agreed. Of the bills still to be acted upon, those for the WPA and agriculture are most likely to come under attack from the economy bloc.

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But before they are voted on, there will be a battle royal over this year's WPA deficiency bill, in respect of which the President's renewed request for $150,000,000 is imminent. Congressmen, frightened at taking responsibility for dropping a million or more workers from the WPA rolls at a blow, are almost begging the President to find them an excuse for reversing themselves. The numerous reactionaries in this Congress would no doubt like to vote relief for the big taxpayers while denying it to the unemployed. But we suspect they lack the nerve.

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LABOR AS WELL AS CAPITAL HAS VESTED interests, and these are now the chief obstacles to peace between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. In more normal times it might be argued that the split in the labor movement was not without useful by-products, that competition between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. was stimulating to both organizations. But in a time of growing reaction, with the Wagner Act under organized attack and the prospects of reactionary victory in 1940 increasing, the division in labor's ranks is suicidal. It is not hard to believe that certain leading figures in the A. F. of L., who have always been associated with the Republican Party in the past, look on disunity with partisan satisfaction as a factor calculated seriously to weaken the New Deal. But the chief opposition to a democratic merger of both organizations, together with the Railway Brotherhoods, in one united American labor movement comes from the top bureaucrats and chair-warmers of the A. F. of L., who realize that the proposal would inevitably shake the little monarchies of many of the old-line unions. The Greens, Wolls, and Morrisons have long outlived their usefulness to the labor movement and should be retired. We know that the rank and file of both organizations want peace. If their leaders fail to reach an agreement, we hope the President will use his enormous influence to bring one about.

*

THE SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS' UNION had already established itself as the first successful union of Southern agricultural workers when it voted to affiliate with the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA), a C. I. O. affiliate. It stipulated that its autonomy must remain effective, for very good reasons. Its policy and technique had proved successful in a backward area offering extraordinary difficulties in union organization; the fact that the UCAPAWA, widely or unwisely, is made up of cannery and packing as well as agricultural workers in widely scattered and divergent sections would seem to indicate a loose federation of autonomous unions rather than centralized control. The S. T. F. U. has now, after a referendum of its membership, withdrawn from the C. I. O. affiliate on the issue of autonomy. The break was precipitated when Donald Henderson, president of the UCAPAWA, suspended the elected officers of the Tenant Farmers' Union on charges which boil down to refusal of the union to surrender its autonomy. The union has made it clear that its grievance does not lie against the C. I. O. On the contrary it has appealed to the C. I. O. to bring about a fair settlement. Specifically the union charges Donald Henderson, president of the UCAPAWA, with a long series of disruptive acts motivated by his allegiance to an outside political group, namely the Communist Party. The records of S. T. F. U. officials, of H. L. Mitchell and J. R. Butler, make any counter-charge of red-baiting irrelevant. We hope the top executives of the C. I. O. will find the time to resolve the difficulties of a union whose importance is far greater than its size.

Isolation Is Not Enough

BY HIS able exposition of the case for an affirmative foreign policy, in place of one compounded of "drift and negation," former Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson has performed a twofold public service. He has contributed to the discussion of the most vital issue of the day a calm and carefully reasoned statement of the dangers to this country involved in a policy of isolation; and by placing himself firmly at the President's side in a controversy which cuts clean across party lines, he has made difficult any attempt to snipe at the Administration's foreign policy from a partisan angle. This is all the more important because after weeks of desultory debate on foreign affairs Congress is now faced with the necessity of getting down to brass tacks.

On May 1 the "cash and carry" section of the Neutrality Act expires. Unless it is reenacted or the whole statute is amended, this means that, although the embargo on the sale of arms, ammunition, and the implements of war to belligerents will continue, other commodities, including oil and metals, may be exported to belligerents in American ships. The lapse of this section, therefore, would be displeasing to the isolationists, one of whose chief fears is that incidents involving our ships will once again force us into war. On the other hand they do not want to open up the whole issue lest in the process the act should suffer emasculation. They have therefore made no move so far except to announce untiring opposition to any serious change in the act.

Meanwhile Senator Pittman has announced that the Foreign Relations Committee will begin discussion of revisions of the act shortly. Four definite proposals have been put forward. Senator Lewis has introduced a bill to repeal the Neutrality Act and substitute a simple declaration that this country's policy in case of foreign war is one of neutrality, to be put into effect by regulations and executive orders by the President. Senator King has of-

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fered a simple resolution of repeal. A third suggestion is an embargo on the export of arms and munitions in time of peace as well as war. Finally there are the amendments to the act put forward by Senator Thomas of Utah, under which the President could ask Congress for authority to apply embargoes against aggressors—defined as powers which embark on war in violation of a treaty to which this country is a party.

Of these proposals the last seems to us to do most to give the Neutrality Act that flexibility which it requires if it is to become the instrument of a positive foreign policy. Whether its definition of aggression would prove adequate in view of modern tendencies to make war without declaring it, and whether the association of Congress with the President in deciding when embargoes should be applied would lead to undue debate and delay are questions which need to be carefully considered. Nevertheless, the Thomas amendments do seem to afford an opportunity both to Congress and the public to arrive at conclusions on the main issue. In the words of Mr. Stimson it is: "Shall we bury our heads in the sands of isolationism and timidly await the time when our security shall be lessened and perhaps destroyed by the growing success of lawlessness around us? Or shall we use our present strength and security to throw our weight into the vacillating scales in favor of law and order and freedom?"

Judging by the defense debates, simon-pure isolationists form no more than a small minority in Congress. But they are a sincere, vocal, and influential group and are quite capable of attempting to carry out Senator Nye's threat of engaging in a summer-long filibuster if any effort is made either to repeal or change drastically the Neutrality Act. Such tactics might prove successful in view of the fact that the convinced supporters of legislation which would serve warning on the aggressors are also a minority. Much therefore will depend on those Congressmen whose minds are not yet made up. This last section is perhaps the most representative of the country at large. There can be little doubt that the public mind is in a state of considerable confusion on the leading issues of foreign policy. Recent Gallup and *Fortune* polls suggest an overwhelming hostility to the fascist powers coupled with a general belief that if war breaks out in Europe America will inevitably become involved. A large majority favors supplying Britain and France with food in the event of war; a bare majority would sell them planes and other war material. But to any idea of military support there is tremendous hostility.

Public opinion is, rightly, first and foremost concerned with the maintenance of peace. The belief that this objective can best be secured by having as little to do with Europe as possible is still widely held and is an obstacle to the kind of affirmative policy Mr. Stimson desires. Yet on the premise that a general European war would eventually engulf us, there is everything to be said for taking steps now that will discourage any aggressor from precipitating a conflict.

Isolationists are aware that this is a difficult argument to meet, and in their efforts to overcome it they are driven to an attitude of Chamberlainism. We must not encourage the European democracies to expect aid, they argue, lest we give them courage to resist demands for appeasement and so cause the aggressor powers to enforce their claims by war. Accepting all fascist bluff at its face value, this argument logically leads to the conclusion that a bloodless Nazi conquest of Europe by way of a series of Munichs would be advantageous to America. Can our isolationists seriously maintain such a position? Only by rejecting all the evidence that points to fascism as an international religion sworn to a worldwide *jehad* for the extermination of democracy.

Liberals Never Learn

THERE is a good deal of repetition in the story of democracy's efforts to control our economic monarchs. The report of the Industrial Commission of 1898 led to the establishment of the Federal Bureau of Corporations in 1903. The inefficacy of that agency in dealing with our corporate mammoths was aired in the Pujo "money trust" hearings of 1912. Those revelations were largely responsible for the enactment of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act and the creation of the Federal Trade Commission in 1914. Twenty-five years later the puny successes and colossal failures of the commission are being examined at Washington in a new inquiry into the monopoly problem.

Considering the present mood at Washington, it is instructive to recall the words with which Woodrow Wilson in 1914 recommended the establishment of the Federal Trade Commission.

> What we are proposing to do [he said] is, happily, not to hamper or interfere with business as enlightened business men prefer to do it, or in any sense to put it under the ban. The antagonism between business and government is over. We are now about to give expression to the best business judgment of America. . . . The government and business men are ready to meet each other halfway in a common effort to square business methods with both public opinion and the law. The best-informed men of the business world condemn the methods and processes and consequences of monopoly as we condemn them. . . . That is the strength of our position and the sure prophecy of what will ensue when our reasonable work is done.

The prophecy proved as false as the hollow assumption on which it was based.

For it is not merely a few malefactors of great wealth or even big business as a whole that seeks constantly to

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monopolize, to control the market, to fix prices. The Federal Trade Commission cases outlined in the monopoly inquiry show that the little business man is as ready to join in restraint of trade as any steel baron. Now, as when Adam Smith first made the observation 150 years ago, "men in the same trade seldom meet together but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public or in some contrivance to raise prices." The failure of the anti-trust acts is due not only to the ambiguity of the laws, the duplicity of the courts in interpreting them, and the niggardliness of Congress in providing for their enforcement. They run counter to the natural trends of the business community, which is constantly talking about competition and as constantly striving to stifle it. The difference between little business and big business is simply that the former finds it more difficult to act in restraint of trade, and is more easily policed and regulated.

The brilliantly written report on "Monopoly and Competition in Steel" made by the Federal Trade Commission to the Temporary National Economic Committee vividly illustrates the uneconomic results of monopoly practices and the complete failure of the anti-trust laws to stop those practices. The industry's regimented prices "allow it to make a profit when operating at less than 40 per cent of capacity"; the buyer of steel—and we are all buyers of steel directly or indirectly—pays fixed charges and a profit on 100 per cent of capacity in return for the use of less than 40 per cent. The excuse that to allow unlimited competition would enable the biggest companies to drive the others to the wall, as Rockefeller did in oil, is a specious one. "To sanction private price controls such as those in the steel industry as a protection against price-raiding is to establish monopoly by agreement for the sake of avoiding monopoly by capture." Furthermore, as the commission points out, "capitalist theory has always held that industry was expected to produce in the hope of a profit, not that it was expected to stand idle at a profit." The commission believes that "sound competition in steel would be preferable from every point of view: it would be better for the consumer; it would make for more efficient operation of the industry. But how bring it about?

Two answers seem to be taking shape in the monopoly inquiry. Professor Frank A. Fetter spoke for the trust-busters when he told the committee: "Business leaders are vainly trying to operate a capitalistic system by methods and practices which are in conflict with its fundamental principles. The ultimate alternative to a regime of competitive prices is one of authoritarian prices. You can take your choice between private monopoly and public socialism." The trust-busters take their stand in the second sentence. They are for restoring competition. Jerome Frank and the group which wants a revival of something like the NRA says that "where an industry involves a large amount of fixed capital with high fixed costs, one must recognize that, by the very nature of the facts, there cannot be the same kind of competition as between farmers." Both seem to us correct in their analyses, hopeless in their conclusions. We have been trust-busting since 1890, and American business has constantly grown more monopolistic. In industries like steel, where experience has shown the restoration of competition impossible and where an NRA code merely pinned a policeman's badge on the monopolistic Steel Institute, government ownership is the only way out. But both sides recoil from this solution, preferring to shut their eyes to the lessons of the past two generations. It is said that the Bourbons never learn. Neither, in some fields, do the liberals.

Open Letter to Governor Lehman

DEAR GOVERNOR LEHMAN: Undoubtedly you are familiar with Section 192, Clause G, of New York State's military law, which provides that "an armory shall not be used for political or religious purposes except that an armory may be used for the purpose of holding the national convention of a political party." In view of the unambiguous terms of this law, we urge you to investigate the use of New York's Seventh Regiment Armory by the "General Committee on Americanism and Neutrality." Newspaper accounts of a public meeting staged by the General Committee at that armory on February 19 correspond with a detailed memorandum submitted to us by a spectator; all these reports confirm the openly political character of that meeting. Speakers hailed General Francisco Franco and urged immediate recognition of his government; a resolution was passed advocating "neutrality" in foreign affairs and criticizing by clear implication the anti-Nazi utterances of the Roosevelt Administration. Few issues are as obviously political and controversial as these aspects of American foreign policy. Yet Colonel Ralph C. Tobin, commanding officer of the armory, apparently insists that the meeting did not fall within the scope of the law. We regret that he will not allow us to quote his written reply to our inquiries; we also regret that his reply is entirely unsatisfactory. Gratuitously reminding us of the libel laws, he does not explain his own apparent misunderstanding of the military law. We therefore submit for your attention the following quotations which will indicate the nature of the armory meeting:

1. "If we expect to maintain close relations with our neighbors to the south, if we expect to maintain the Monroe Doctrine, we should recognize the new Spain." From the address by Merwin K. Hart, quoted in the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune*.

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2. "The resolutions, which were adopted with cheers by the audience, further demanded that Congress forbid an accord of special privileges to any foreign power, and emphatically condemned indulgence in abusive and contemptuous comment upon the rulers of foreign states and upon the forms of government they administer." From the *Herald Tribune* report.

3. "References by speakers to General Franco, Premier Mussolini, and Chancellor Hitler were applauded." From the *Times* report.

4. "Ogden H. Hammond . . . described pre-war Spain and said General Franco was a great man who would unite Spain and give it a stable government." From the *Times* report.

As final and clinching evidence we cite the address of Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, since published in full in the Brooklyn *Tablet*. Dr. Thorning's pro-Franco oration corresponds verbatim with large sections of the leading article, signed by Dr. Joseph Code, in this month's issue of *Spain*, an avowed pro-Franco propaganda magazine. We cannot believe that even Colonel Tobin would deny its political character.

It is possible, of course, that the legal restriction on the use of armories is unwise and should be done away with. The question is arguable, though we incline to the opinion that it is just as well to keep the National Guard and its properties completely out of politics. But even if a change in the law were desirable, surely it should not be effected by individual interpretations by commanding officers. If there is any doubt as to what constitutes a political meeting, that too should be clarified. In any event the law should not remain open to interpretations which may vary with the character of those who seek to hold meetings. We believe the incident calls for prompt investigation.

(Signed) THE EDITORS OF THE NATION

Hitler's New Threat

BY LOUIS FISCHER

London, March 4

THIS is a "lull." The tension of last fall is supposed to have subsided. When President Roosevelt announced that international events might bring him back in a hurry from the naval maneuvers, those who strive to direct public opinion here made an effort to utter a surprised, "Why? What for?" Officially all's well. Except of course that the British government has just decided to borrow £800,000,000 for rearmament. The defense services next year will spend £580,000,000.

On February 24 Premier Daladier warned the French Chamber that "the next few months or even weeks would bring some redoubtable reefs to be faced, and peace would have to be defended with vigilance." "We must not deceive ourselves," Marshal Göring echoed on March 1. "The world situation is tense."

Germany has yet to digest its victory over Czechoslovakia, and the two Fascist invaders of Spain can only now contemplate the economic exploitation of the Iberian peninsula. The fact that they are already pressing new territorial demands with an insistence which makes all Europe nervous suggests that Hitler and Mussolini may feel they had better not delay in using their recently gained strategic positions in Central Europe and the Mediterranean to achieve further expansion. This year, some authorities here contend, marks the end of the era of map-recarving by blackmail. British and French rearming is proceeding so rapidly, they submit, that the anti-Comintern powers will be afraid to attack or precipitate another "Munich" situation in 1940 or thereafter.

Is this so? If Berlin and Rome think it is, then the chances of an early serious international crisis are increased. Apprehension is widespread in Western Europe. Hence, it seems, the vigorous public assertions by Chamberlain and other responsible ministers regarding Britain's improved defenses, and hence apparently the repeated reaffirmations by the Prime Minister and Lord Halifax of British readiness to protect France.

Since the unnecessary surrender at Munich, Great Britain has probably added 1,500 airplanes to its air force. These are said to be of exceptionally high quality, and the bombers among them could inflict damage on Berlin. But Germany has not been idle, and the gap cannot be much less now than it was in September, 1938. This month, however, one hears that British industries will produce 400 military planes, compared to the previous 250. By October the monthly rate is expected to reach 700, and by February, 1940, 1,000. The British government and people, moreover, are engaged in a titanic and partially successful effort to build up their navy, already superior to any other, to perfect the woefully deficient anti-air-raid services, and to furnish all branches of the army with ample modern equipment.

The howls which have gone up in Berlin and Rome over the latest American and British astronomical defense budgets justify the suspicion that many Fascist minds are perturbed by the anticipated effect on Germany's and Italy's rocking national economies of the necessity of

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keeping pace with the accelerated rearmament programs of Great Britain, France, and the United States. Wiser perhaps to gamble immediately on another cheap triumph which would give strategic and material advantages to offset the democracies' added arms strength.

This is certainly a possibility which today troubles Western statesmen. Danzig, Memel, and Danish Schleswig could be seized with impunity at any time. But all these together are a small catch, and preoccupation with them might postpone a bigger effort.

Holland is being gravely discussed as a possible object of aggression. On January 28, 1939, a number of very influential Englishmen, among them Lord Willingdon, Lord Derby, Lord Dawson of Penn, Montagu Norman, Lord Stamp, Lord Horder, and John Masefield, issued an open appeal to the leaders and people of Germany to "lay the specter of war" and cooperate with Britain to destroy the "spirit of uneasiness" which oppresses the world. This document had been prepared in the British Foreign Office and was given to some of the signatories by Lord Halifax. It sought to prevent a German invasion of Holland, which, according to official information, was then imminent. To this very day an attack on the Netherlands is regarded in the highest quarters as a real danger. The Dutch have some frontier fortifications and put trust in the device of flooding the low lands—although this expedient would necessarily inconvenience the defenders too. But could the British navy and air force save Holland from a swift assault? Can England send an expeditionary force? Would France, in the probable event of Belgian neutrality, advance frontally into Germany? It is supposed that Germany might seek to forestall French participation by turning the Maginot line with a lightning drive into Switzerland. This move, plus an Italian threat from the Alps and from Catalonia and the knowledge that after the Japanese occupation of Hainan Island Tokyo would be tempted to occupy Indo-China, the richest French colony, as soon as France became engaged in Europe, might give the Flandins and Bonnets enough arguments to keep France out. The peace-loving Dutch no longer sleep securely.

Germany, in any case, is looking westward. The Ukraine has dropped out of the headlines. Whether by intent or not, the effect of Munich was to direct German expansion toward the east. It had the additional virtue, from Chamberlain's and Daladier's point of view, of separating by a long distance the spheres of activity of the two ends of the axis—Germany in Eastern Europe, Italy in the Mediterranean basin. But the fall of Barcelona reversed these effects of Munich.

After Munich, Chamberlain would have best served his Munich policy by becoming pro-Loyalist. For a fascist-encircled France offers Hitler an attractive alternative to the hazardous *Drang nach Osten*. Moscow is no Jericho, and neither the hysterical shouts of an enemy nor the ultimatums of friends are likely to reduce its walls. Hitler has never fought a war, and without one he could not obtain Soviet territory. The Poles too seemed firm in the face of Nazi Ukraine propaganda, and immediately sought comfort in better relations with Moscow.

Hitler has enough means of persuading Poland to shun a war in the West. All the hunting in and for Poland appears to total up to Polish passivity in the next major diplomatic crisis and in the early stages of a physical conflict between the fascist and democratic axes of Europe. With Poland neutral, the Soviet Union is more likely to remain neutral. Soviet domestic trends are confirming the U. S. S. R. in an isolationism which is the compelling by-product of the disappearance of democratic Czechoslovakia. Even if Russia wished to go to the aid of a France in peril—and I am not sure it would have any such desire until the "1917" stage of a war—the new geography would make intervention difficult. The Kremlin is now in a mood to allow everybody to court it but to leave England, France, and America to do their own wrestling with the anti-Comintern powers.

Lord Halifax is reliably reported to have told a recent private meeting of Conservative M. P.'s that Britain cannot afford to ignore the U. S. S. R. It did ignore it in the Czech episode. Neville Chamberlain attended a reception at the London Soviet Embassy on March 1, the first British Prime Minister who ever did. The flirtation is on, for unless London and Paris can create an eastern front against Germany, the stage is perfectly set for another act of international blackmail. Hence, too, the revived British interest in Poland. Will Hitler and Mussolini anticipate the possible success of these efforts by advancing the date of the next crisis?

Upon whom would pressure be directed? Hitler's last speech to the Reichstag on January 30 was significant because in it he revised "Mein Kampf" for the first time. He demanded colonies. "Mein Kampf" did not; in fact, it minimized their usefulness. He promised that "a war against Italy, from whatever motive, will find Germany at its side." This means Nazi support for Mussolini in an offensive war too. Any such war would be against France and England—never, in view of the Anglo-French alliance, against France alone. The German demand for colonies and the military solidarity with Rome have therefore direct and serious anti-British implications. "Mein Kampf" is not anti-British. Fascist successes in Spain, Germany's western orientation, and Hitler's encouragement to Mussolini's bellicosity inaugurate a new phase in European affairs. Great Britain has been warned. Berlin's announcement of new submarine and other naval construction shows that Hitler is thinking more about England and France than about Russia. Mussolini gloats. The axis revolves more smoothly. The stubborn idea that it could be broken has proved an expensive

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illusion. While something can be gained by keeping the world on tenterhooks, the two Fascist powers will stick together. Peace cannot be established by paying them to separate. A firmly established peace would divide them.

Beneath the surface calm there is anxiety in Britain. One senses it in conversation with people of all classes, and it is partially reflected in the acts of the government. After the Republican defeat in Spain, the Fascists' next play would logically be to arouse the Arabs in the British- and French-ruled states as a preliminary to a Mediterranean crisis. The changes in Palestine at the expense of the Zionists are conceived as a measure to block such a development. The hasty recognition of Franco by England and France—the recognition was not unconditional; Franco imposed humiliating conditions on Bonnet—cannot merely be the climactic expression of well-known British and French sympathy for the Spanish insurgents. (Compare it with British recognition of Soviet Russia in 1924.) It is an effort to wean Franco from his masters. But does the decision rest with Franco?

Prime Minister Negrin

He had decided to take Minorca by peaceful means and British intervention. Yet the Italians bombed the island and, I am told, the British cruiser Devonshire, which carried the negotiators to Port Mahon. In September, 1938, Franco had decided to remain neutral in case of a European war. According, however, to a statement by General Harrington, the British commander of Gibraltar at that time, Germany replied that it would employ the military airdromes in Spain. Franco will undoubtedly be an independent puppet. In the early period of his regime, at least, he could not, even if he would, prevent the fascist powers from using Spain as a war base and a source of cannon fodder. I cannot see what effective means are at England's disposal for changing this situation. Certainly money will not do it. But it is natural that the present British government should try.

The evacuation of congested cities is being planned with an urgency which suggests that London has no faith in the present peace. Individual air-raid shelters are being distributed. Perhaps these and other energetic measures will deter Germany and Italy. And then again they may convince Hitler and Mussolini that time is working against them. Suppose Germany overran Holland while Italy took Tunis and Japan occupied Hongkong and all of Shanghai. Which way would England and France turn first? A coalition of Germany, Italy, and Japan (and Poland?), bent on the redistribution of Dutch, Portuguese, French, and (why not?) British colonies would be a formidable combination. The sacrifice of Czechoslovakia and Spain and of the prestige and respect of the democracies has not appeased the aggressors or reassured the appeasers.

SPAIN'S FINAL TRAGEDY

Paris, March 13, by Cable

It is all very sad. This bloodshed in Madrid is senseless. The very officers and soldiers who saw Communists die in thousands at their side are shooting down the Communist executives. The few remaining Loyalist planes, tanks, and cannon rain explosives on Loyalists.

Now, of course, many people will say, "I told you so. I always knew the Loyalists were reds." But it seems to me that this last and ugly phase of the Spanish struggle proves the very opposite. Casado, Besteiro, Miaja, and their friends in the defense junta are all prominent Loyalists; yet they are bloody anti-Communists. Moreover, if Republican Spain were Communist, could Casado in three days have turned a large part of the army against the Communists? Before the Socialist Negrin and Del Vayo, together with many Communist leaders, left Spain last week, Negrin rang up all the important cities and army centers. Casado told Negrin over the telephone, "I've rebelled." Valencia, Murcia, Albacete, and Estremadura answered in much the same way. In the little village where Negrin and Del Vayo stayed, a handful of militiamen volunteered to make a last stand, but several companies of the Casadist troops were already en route to arrest the Negrin government. Where, then, was that Communist Spain which Mussolini, Hitler, and some sincere anti-fascists had summoned up in their imagination? Part of it never existed; part of it lies in unmarked graves.

The Communists are putting up a swell fight. According to the last report published by the Paris *Temps* civilians are joining the Communist soldiers, and private information suggests that non-Communists are supporting the Communists against the junta; but whoever wins, Franco wins. It is clever of him to wait. The longer the intra-Loyalist war goes on, the less resistance he will encounter when he advances.

The Casadist revolt diminishes the possibility of obtaining terms from Franco. Why should Burgos negotiate even an unopposed Loyalist surrender? The fascists want a complete victory, achieved by force of arms. Italy and Germany will reject any peace parleys chiefly because France and England have favored them. Apparently both foreign partnerships feel that the manner of ending the war will help determine their rival positions in Spain after the war.

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The Minorca incident disturbed Mussolini and Hitler. That's why Italian bombers raided the island, although arrangements for it to be peacefully turned over were about to be sealed. The totalitarians feared the receipt of Minorca on a British platter would put Franco under obligations to London. England's success at Port Mahon raised high hopes of a similar diplomatic coup in the Valencia-Madrid area, and the Anglo-French contacts with Casado may date from that time.

The Fascists throw armaments into the balance when they wish to win battles. France and England trust to political maneuvers and money. England precipitately recognized Franco, expecting that he would feel honored and forget his debt to Roman-Nazi intervention. France sends as ambassador to Burgos its most revered citizen, Marshal Pétain. Just candy for babies. No one nowadays respects those who humiliate themselves. Burgos replies by appointing to the Paris embassy a little-known, anti-French Falangist.

The hasty, unconditional recognition of Franco by the British and French had a great deal to do with Casado's outbreak. When Barcelona fell, the Loyalists realized that the war was lost and would soon end. On February 1 Negrin enunciated to the Cortes three conditions for the cessation of hostilities—national independence, a regime with popular support, and the promise of no reprisals; but within a week the British and French governments were informed that the republic was ready to reduce these to one—clemency. No reply to this démarche has ever been received.

Negrin and Del Vayo flew to central Spain after the collapse of Catalonia, not to prolong the war, but to organize resistance with the sole purpose of extorting the best possible peace terms from Franco. Perhaps it was a forlorn hope, but could Negrin just deliver thousands of valiant armed men to the Fascist hangman? Had he tried, he would have met with the same response that Casado got—fighting. Before they left Spain Communist leaders gave orders not to oppose Casado with arms. I know definitely that the Communist pilots were told by their chief not to move against Casado. But it would have been unnatural and un-Spanish for the men to obey. It is at least possible that some guaranties might have been obtained through Negrin's firm attitude. The difficulty of suppressing a few thousand brave Communists intrenched in isolated buildings and parks without benefit of preparation or coordination shows how costly it would have been for Franco to take a desperate, determined Madrid by storm. He might have counted the costs and come to terms, especially if England and France had insisted on clemency as a preliminary condition to recognition. But unconditional recognition was granted on February 27, and Casado rose on March 5. I suspect that many foreign powers knew at least a week in advance of his coming putsch. A foreign diplomat showed a foreign friend of mine in Madrid a list of members of the junta three days before its formation was announced to the world. Casado and the powers feared that further resistance would upset their plan of a peaceful surrender. Actually the rising against Negrin spoils the Anglo-French Minorca strategy by facilitating a violent Fascist occupation of the remaining Republican zone.

When Negrin discovered that most of the military opposed resistance, he availed himself only of officers who supported his policy whole-heartedly, and they were Communists. This precipitated the crisis. A powerful hatred of Communists had developed in Loyalist Spain. (I discussed this phenomenon from time to time during the war in my dispatches.) Defeatism and anti-communism are twin brothers. The longer the war lasted, the more some Loyalists despaired of a successful conclusion; therefore they abhorred the Communists, who had faith and tenacity. The Soviet Union's failure to send as many munitions as Germany and Italy sent was booked to the discredit of the Spanish Communists. Besides, the Communists made many enemies by their irritating attempts—which, as is now apparent, failed—to control important institutions. While the war was at its height, even the pessimists restrained their anti-red animus, but when all was clearly lost, their restraint disappeared. Had Negrin flown from doomed Barcelona to Madrid, he might have prevented an explosion of their passions, but he hoped for a moment to reestablish a line of defense in Catalonia, and when the later débâcle engulfed him he didn't get to Alicante until February 10. By then the bitter rage which comes with the imminence of an inescapable, crushing disaster had gained the upper hand. I suppose if a dying man were in possession of his strength and a gun, no one within reach would be safe. This is probably the psychological explanation of the Casadist adventure.

A defeat after so many lives have been lost and the country ruined must release boundless resentment. The Spaniards abroad will now proceed to cut one another's throats with denunciatory articles, books, and speeches. Services will be forgotten; the moral capital accumulated in the heroic struggle will be dissipated in an internecine war of mud-slingers. That has already begun. Each will proceed to explain how he would have saved the situation and why the others failed. What an end to a glorious struggle for freedom!

As a postscript, the Casadist junta has no status in law or in the Spanish constitution or in popular support. Negrin vehemently denies its right to pose as his government's successor. The closing of De Los Rios's embassy in Washington wouldn't hurt the Spanish Republic any more than keeping it open hurts Franco. This doesn't mean we should recognize Franco. Sixteen years elapsed between Kerensky's fall and Ambassador Bullitt's arrival in Moscow.

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America in the Post-Munich World

IV. MOBILIZE FOR DEMOCRACY

BY ELIOT JANEWAY

THE PROBLEM OF THE MARGINAL FARMER

BY 1922 it was evident to American farmers that the biggest export boom ever known in this country had ended. Agriculture the world over was settling down to peace and hard times. But almost everyone assumed that crop exports would eventually come back, if only—horrible thought—with another war. No one suspected that Europe's next reversion to militarism would be made with the slogan "Guns or Butter," and that guns would win a complete and easy victory over wheat, corn, and other food products.

In 1922 militarism had faded, and the American farmer hoped that the peaceful New Europe would soon achieve prosperity and begin to absorb his products again. These products, though, must be taken at a high price if all of American agriculture was to prosper. For the European market was needed by just those farmers who could profit only when wheat sold at $1 a bushel and cotton at 13 cents a pound. Low-cost farmers do not need the European market to prosper; they can supply the domestic market at a profit even when prices dive far lower. But for the marginal farmer Europe offered the only hope, as it had for the past fifty years.

Some persons, however, suspected that all might not be well with the export trade. Was it, indeed, desirable at all, they asked, that the American farmer continue to be dependent upon exports, which have done far more to bankrupt him than his favorite bogy man, Wall Street? The ablest of this group was Henry A. Wallace, who argued that even when exports revive after a cycle of stagnation they don't balance the losses on agriculture's books. For, he wrote in *Wallace's Farmer,* "the history of the export trade in corn shows that Europe makes large purchases only when corn is selling for far less than it costs the American farmer to produce it. . . . Are we prepared to sacrifice ourselves in this way so that Europe will have enough cheap food to make it possible to maintain standing armies and to build battleships? . . . Is a big export trade on these conditions worth having?"

Today Europe has become so enmeshed in maintaining its armies and building its battleships that it is no longer able to take advantage even of below-cost corn. Yet Wallace the Secretary of Agriculture seems strangely to have lost the insight of Wallace the editor. American agriculture is still dependent upon the moribund European market. Instead of attempting to find a new outlet for it, governmental policies have subsidized the waste and the loss caused by the European collapse. First, at a pegged and artificial price the government has bought up the surpluses no longer wanted abroad. Then it has dumped them, pocketing the loss between the pegged price paid to the farmer and the much lower yield received from foreign purchasers. Finally, it has subsidized the withdrawal from production of land made marginal by the closing of the European market. We are paying, then, for what we export, for what we produce but do not export, and for what we do not even produce. We have spent a great deal of money, but it has not gone to solve our farm problem. Instead, we have underwritten the continuance of an outworn farm system on the theory that the European market would eventually return. And this there is absolutely no prospect of its doing. We have wasted our money and our time.

With the passing of the European market, the small, inefficient farmer, now becoming marginal, is facing occupational unemployment, and we cannot conceal the fact by keeping him on relief and trying to gear our price structure to his high cost of production. Not all the millions poured into farm relief have succeeded in bolstering prices: the high-cost farmer is not making his cost of production; he is not making anything but surpluses. And the surpluses depress the price. But while the marginal farmer and the surplus-ridden government suffer with each drop in price, the cost of food and clothing is still too high for the urban consumer—much too high to allow the great increase in consumption which would really begin to absorb existing surpluses.

If prices were to fall even farther, to a point where consumer demand would materially increase, that portion of agriculture which is modern and efficient would still be able to operate at a profit. Just as the big mass-production industrial units are the profitable ones, so the large-scale mechanized farms are the ones which pay. The earnings of how many small farms would have to be added together to equal the $1,500,000 earned in a recent year by Henry Ford's farm enterprises? Similarly, any number of great industrial organizations have found it profitable to satisfy their raw-material needs by intensive farm operations; and of course there are successful large independent farms.

The high-cost, marginal farmer operates in the same way as the little fellow in industry. He gambles on price

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movements, hoping to make a price profit as well as an operating profit and trying to avoid suffering a price loss as well as an operating loss on the down side of the business cycle. If a large corporation gambles on price movements, it does so because it wants to, not because it has to. No matter what the commodity market may do, it has contracted for its supply well in advance. But it is precisely the farmer, the least prosperous entrepreneur in the community, who is forced to gamble on the most violent price movements in our economy. The corporate farm does not have to gamble; it can count on making a profit simply by producing crops. It can do this because it takes advantage of every development in farm technology. Thanks to mechanization, seeding, irrigation, modern fertilizers, rotation, soil treatment, animal husbandry, and so forth, an entirely new cost structure has been created by the top layer of American agriculture—American agricultural enterprise would be a more accurate term. With this application of mass-production methods of farming, the yield of the land has multiplied: hybrid corn, for example, with whose development the Secretary of Agriculture was associated, increases output per acre from 20 to 250 per cent.

Scientific practice has increased the nutritive output of corn and wheat land as much as five times, and has obtained yields of four and one-half to eight times the average crop of 1927-30. Professor B. W. Kunkel estimates that all grain and potatoes required by the United States can be raised on an acreage smaller than the total area of farms in Kansas. (Increased yield, due to technological progress, is the reason why all the acreage reduction effected by the AAA has not been able to reduce output.) The individual farmer must not only face the competition of low-cost, mass-production units, but must also see the productivity of his own land lessened by erosion and exhaustion. The technological revolution in agriculture, which is barely under way, is making both the farmer and his land unable to compete. The combination of export collapse and mass-production, low-cost farming has rendered millions of farmers and millions of acres of farm land superfluous.

REHABILITATING THE LAND IS THE ANSWER

This can be either a curse or a blessing. Here are four out of six million farm families occupationally unemployed, living on or close to a bare subsistence basis. We can keep these farmers on the land, gearing our farm prices to their costs, at the expense of the consumer; or we can realize that it is a fine thing for 4 million families, 15 to 18 million people, no longer to be needed on the farms. We can leave the task of feeding and clothing us to the relatively few farms which can produce cheaply, and which are already large-scale consumers of every type of work-making manufactured goods, from tractors to clothes and bread; and we can use the four million families for one of the most urgent jobs facing the country—for rehabilitating the land they have been working. Unless this land is reclaimed from erosion, put back to forest and pasture, made fit, in the South particularly, for dairy and truck farming, a first-rate catastrophe threatens the nation. We saw in the Dust Bowl what happens to defenseless land. And we know what happens to the people. Our economy cannot afford to have these people frozen out of its retail markets.

The labor force needed to do the work of salvage is already on location. No private agency can fight against drought and erosion and flood; only the government can do it. If we can buy protection against these menaces for only $2 billion a year, we may consider ourselves lucky. Putting our marginal and subsistence farmers to work on such a campaign will not of course employ all of the four million families. But they will be employed when the ultimate purpose of the campaign, the rehabilitation of the land for forest industry and dairy and stock farming, is accomplished.

Secretary Wallace

There is no reason why the government should carry the load alone. If the government restores the land, why should not industry contribute toward what is to be its own source of supply for raw materials? Once the land has again been made fit for productive use, why cannot the chemical companies buy and tend the new forest land which they need? And why cannot the dairy and packing companies raise herds on the newly created pasture land? Such supplementary private investment would go far toward putting on pay rolls this latest addition to our technologically unemployed. Meanwhile, by the absorption of these four million subsistence families into productive work, the retail market—and, not least, the retail market for food—would be considerably expanded.

Remember, too, that as soon as the marginal farmer no longer needs to be protected by pegged prices, technological progress can facilitate a really radical readjustment of the price structure. Dr. Isadore Lubin, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, has shown, for example, that an increase from $1,200 to $1,500 a year in family income creates a 66 per cent increase in the purchase of

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textiles by such families. The same increase can occur because of a reduction in price, and cheaper cotton and wood pulp would mean a reduction in the price of textiles. Lower meat and dairy prices would cause an even more sensational rise in food sales.

SALVATION IN PLANNED GROWTH

The next great task facing the nation is the rehabilitation of the exhausted land and its people. In order to do this, we must expand our economy. Retail sales in 1938, considered in terms of our 130,000,000 people, came to less than $300 a person. Actually, many millions of people never, or only rarely, enter the retail market. Unless these millions can be drawn to our markets, there is no hope that industry will conquer its tendency to overproduce, even at the present level. Here is an opportunity to use our agricultural crisis, and particularly the crisis of Southern agriculture, as a lever to force our economy into a period of planned growth. It was grasped and exhaustively described in "Save America First," one of the most seminal economic inquiries of recent years, by Jerome Frank, who was instrumental later as a New Dealer in arranging for the sensational study which appeared last autumn as the "Report on Economic Conditions of the South." Frank demonstrated conclusively that our economy can no longer depend on exports, that, in fact, we cannot export unless we subsidize foreign customers to take our surpluses. We did it by loans during the twenties, and we are doing it now by permitting them to unload their sterile gold on us. Writing before Munich, Frank anticipated the rapid closing of the small European market left to us and warned that we might be tempted to precipitate economic war with smaller countries in this hemisphere for the remnants. He urged, instead, that we recognize that our salvation as a democracy —indeed, that the salvation of democracy—depends upon our ability to expand the scale of our domestic economy. His program of economic reconstruction begins with the immediate problem of agriculture in the South and the Dust Bowl and embraces railroads, utilities, housing, and hemispheric trade in a way that is broad and practical enough really to start government and private capital forward on the road to genuine revival.

Exactly how great this revival must be to solve our national unemployment problem has been roughly estimated by Louis Bean, economic adviser to the AAA. (Much of the most illuminating analysis in Washington comes from Henry Wallace's office.) Bean assumes that by 1945 we shall have an employable population of 46,000,000. To absorb them he estimates that we shall have to have a volume of production far above the 1929 figure of 116 on the Federal Reserve Board Index, running, indeed, to a level around 160. Now if 116 could not be sustained in 1929, 160 is visionary today, when we have suffered from overproduction at a level of 105. Moreover, technical advance in production methods has already outmoded the old scale of values, and if such advance continues at a rate as rapid as that of the past nine years, it may be that Bean has set his production rate necessary for complete employment too low. For example, although 1938 was not a year of great capital investment in the automobile industry, the opening of the new-model year in November-December found production running 20 per cent ahead of the previous year, with the number of men employed the same as in 1937. It is inevitable that industries which have been technologically stagnant for a generation, like building and textiles, should be completely remade during the next few years—at least, if Bean's production level is reached. These developments already exist in embryo in the laboratory.

MORE SPENDING, NOT LESS

The experience of the past few years, as I said, seems to prove such a production level visionary. But before we put it aside as impossible let us consider whether the fault may not lie rather in the practice of the recent past than in the Frank-Bean production schedule itself. If we examine the program of government spending that the New Deal has put into effect, and defended so firmly, we find that it has been almost completely self-defeating —entirely so in the years since 1936. In 1937 government cash income virtually balanced cash spending, so that there was no cash contribution to purchasing power; the 1936 cash contribution had been nearly $4 billion. Spending that is balanced by tax collection has no real effect on purchasing power; at present taxes on consumption have increased to a point where they take a 13 per cent toll of income available to purchase goods. Remember that during the two war years, when our economy really climbed to a mass-production basis, government contribution was $11 billion a year.

Today when we need an increase in production quite as revolutionary as that of the war years, in order to absorb the unemployed in the city and on the farm, investment in capital goods is lagging $10 billion behind the $23 billion invested in 1929, although to support a production rate that will put our people back to work, it should stand at least $10 billion higher. Industry is simply stagnating at a level that is unprofitable for all but the greatest and most efficient companies. Obsolescence is mounting. All that the present self-defeating level of government spending can do is to perpetuate this unsatisfactory state of affairs. What we need is the financial equivalent of war—an increase in government contribution striking enough to employ our resources.

If, as I suggested in my last article, government and private capital between them could invest $3 billion to $4 billion in industrialization for Latin America, a good beginning would be made. Sooner or later the govern-

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ment will have to spend $2 billion a year at least on land reclamation. If this can be done in cooperation with corporations investing an additional $2 billion in forest and herd culture, we shall begin to approach the necessary $10 billion annual investment increase required to give us a fighting chance for real recovery.

On top of such basic investment, supplementary underwriting by governmental agencies, preferably in partnership with private capital, will doubtless have to be undertaken in order to permit modernization and expansion of thousands of small enterprises. Today they are hopelessly inefficient; and they can get no new money, at present. But they could use $2 billion of new private capital a year for reorganization, underwritten if necessary by the government—as is the FHA, which has *spent* no money but stimulated the investment of a billion.

All such measures would only begin to solve our unemployment problem, and so to make our democracy secure against fascism. At least an additional $5 billion or $6 billion of investment money a year would still be needed to accomplish it, and only private capital could provide this. We must recognize frankly that fascism threatens to become the only political alternative to a successful democratic attack, by public and private capital, on the problems of unemployment and stagnation. With such a program of rehabilitation, reemployment, and contribution to purchasing power the New Deal could safely say to business, "We will see that the people are fed; you take the risks." With the goal no longer the self-defeating one of "balance" but the dynamic one of contribution, taxes could be reduced both on consumption and on capital. Once contribution of this magnitude had had its effect, and declining tax rates had increased both consumption and investment, the national income would really rise to an adequate level. Even with lower tax rates an increased national income would provide increased tax revenue, sufficient finally to permit government debt formed in the recovery-financing period to be written off —something the Republicans did not do during the boom days of the twenties.

All that remains to be said is that this program to mobilize our men and resources for peace, as fascism mobilizes them for war, cannot wait. But if our economic aid to fascism stops, if our foreign trade is redirected into hemispheric and domestic channels, if our farm problem is faced and solved, if reemployment is achieved, Roosevelt and democracy can still win.

[*This is the fourth and last article in Mr. Janeway's series. The others appeared in the issues of January 28, February 4, and March 4.*]

Power Dams and Politics

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Bonneville, Oregon, March 7

NEW ENGLAND'S six Republican governors are taking heroic measures to protect their people from the tyranny of the federal government's flood-control and power program. No New Deal dams across the rivers of Vermont and Massachusetts shall destroy the liberty won by the Founding Fathers.

On the other side of the continent such valiant defenders of freedom are missing. There the citizenry is meekly submissive. The people of the Pacific Northwest are going to submit to the thraldom of paying $2.25 for 100 kilowatt-hours of electricity from Bonneville Dam. In the Vermont capital of Montpelier, where Governor George D. Aiken bravely invokes the doctrine of states' rights against President Roosevelt's dam-building plans, the inhabitants enjoy the liberty of being billed $5.23 for the same amount of juice. Shopkeepers in the Oregon town of Eugene are to be subjected to a commercial rate of $13.53 for 750 kilowatt-hours of Bonneville power distributed municipally. Montpelier's business men shall be preserved from this servitude; they can go right on paying at the rate of $40.50.

The issue of hydroelectric power reduces to a sham G. O. P. protestations of internal harmony. It splits the Republican Party like a wedge. Governor Aiken, as quoted in the New York *Times*, believes that the New Deal would "break down the structure of the states under the cloak of flood control and of cheap-power development." Herbert Hoover in New York last month insisted that the dams constructed by the federal government were wasteful. "We build them," he said, "by the impulse of Congress, not by the impulse for low-cost power." All along the Atlantic seaboard Republicans are militantly opposed to federal power projects. The *Congressional Record* is filled with New England weeping about local government and the sovereignty of the states.

Out West the story is slightly different. "I've got to give Charlie his dam," said the President when he signed the authorization for the great $75,000,000 barrier at Bonneville. "Charlie" is Senator Charles L. McNary of Oregon, the Republican Senate leader and the party's shrewdest strategist on Capitol Hill. McNary's stand on power is practically the same as that of Senator Lewis Schwellenbach of Washington, one of the most aggres-

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sive New Dealers. Together they successfully sponsored a bill to set aside at least half the Bonneville hydroelectricity for public agencies. When McNary was reelected in 1936 his championing of Bonneville Dam formed the principal plank of his platform. Every Republican from the Columbia Basin states voted to support Senator Norris's plea for a new TVA dam at Gilbertsville.

George Schreiber
Senator McNary

From the Rockies to the Pacific Coast this situation prevails. The supposed Republican blood-brothers of Governor Aiken and Herbert Hoover are whooping it up for the President's power program with no regard for tranquillity in the family. Charles A. Sprague, the new Republican Governor of Oregon, recently delivered an address on public power which was termed "magnificent" by J. D. Ross, the administrator of Bonneville Dam. Sprague is now advocating additional legislation to get Bonneville juice to the people via "public-utility districts." When Glenn Frank spoke in the Pacific Northwest a few weeks ago, he was warned not to criticize the New Deal's power and reclamation projects. Colonel Knox did that at Spokane in 1936, and newspapers and politicians in the region raced each other to the exits of the Republican encampment. At the last election G. O. P. candidates not only demonstrated their enthusiasm for Bonneville and Grand Coulee but said they wanted the government to build another dam at Umatilla Rapids.

There is a reason for all this. Republican leaders do not swallow the New Deal brew because they personally approve the flavor. The taste of the voters generally governs. Compare the Bonneville objective rates with those in New England and New York, where dwell the Republicans most hostile to Mr. Roosevelt's flood-control, power, and reclamation projects:

	100 kwh.	250 kwh.	500 kwh.
Bonneville	$2.25	$4.75	$6.25
TVA	2.50	5.00	6.90
New York City	4.70	7.95	12.95
Boston	5.10	9.60	12.50
Montpelier	5.23	9.48	11.98

When Hoover ridiculed the notion of low-cost power from New Deal dams, he spoke in a New York hotel which pays more than double the Bonneville rate for electricity. The federal projects on the Columbia River have had a terrific impact on the whole Northwest. While Bonneville and Grand Coulee have risen block on block across the country's swiftest waterway, private utilities in the area have reduced rates as much as 15 per cent. The Portland General Electric Company has certified the low cost of Bonneville juice by announcing that it wants to buy power from the government and thus pass on substantial savings to its customers. When Mr. Roosevelt moved into the White House only 31 per cent of the farms in Idaho and Oregon had electricity. Today the figures for the two states are 55 and 50 per cent.

Money talks; the storekeeper in Klamath Falls is interested to learn that the electricity which costs him $35 from the California-Oregon Power Company can be had in Eugene for $13.53 from Bonneville Dam. Massachusetts housewives might view Governor Leverett Saltonstall's hostility to federal power projects in New England with something less than enthusiasm if they knew they paid more than twice the Bonneville Dam rate to light their homes.

Bonneville Dam is completed now and ready to produce electricity. Grand Coulee will be finished about 1941. Already twenty-five "public-utility districts" have been organized in the state of Washington. Similar units will be formed in Oregon. One of the obstacles to this development is that the districts have to obtain the money for financing the work in the general bond market. They have to turn to promoters, salesmen, and investment bankers to get started. This has aroused considerable criticism. Secretary Ickes, Ben Cohen, and other New Dealers are said to favor loans of RFC money to the districts. Some members of the Washington State Grange have approached Jesse Jones on this matter with no definite result. Incidentally, although the Grange nationally is conservative, its chapters in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho are overwhelmingly for public ownership of utilities and the federal government's power program.

The governors of the New England states do not seem especially concerned that electricity in their region costs two and three times as much as at Bonneville Dam. Testifying before the House Flood Control Committee last year, Governor Aiken was asked if he thought federal power projects "would result in the reduction of the cost of electricity to consumers in Vermont":

> GOVERNOR AIKEN: I do not know.
> CONGRESSMAN CLASON: You never looked into that?
> GOVERNOR AIKEN: No.

One of the most remarkable men in American public life, James Delmage Ross, is supervising the New Deal's drive to cut the price of power to the people of the Far West. For thirty years he has been superintendent of the municipal light plant in Seattle. His power project on the Skagit River is the biggest hydroelectric undertaking in the United States outside those owned by the federal government. Once a conservative mayor fired Ross. The voters of Seattle immediately recalled the mayor, and Ross was reinstated. He is a tradition in the Northwest.

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Famous throughout the country is the $4.05 vacation he offers to the people of Seattle in conjunction with the Skagit River plant. For that sum he provides a week-end in the mountains, with room, board, railroad transportation, and entertainment included.

Since the President authorized Bonneville and Grand Coulee, no Republican who failed to support these projects enthusiastically has been elected to public office in the Columbia River basin. Even chambers of commerce make pilgrimages to the huge structures. Business men want cheap power, too. Republican newspapers in New England may believe that Governor Aiken has saved Vermont from federal tyranny, but the Republican *Spokesman-Review* of Spokane and the *Oregonian* of Portland have published special editions devoted to Mr. Roosevelt's dams on the Columbia River. Unless the G. O. P. platform makers next year combine the talents of Houdini and Talleyrand they will have difficulty in satisfying both Republicans in the East, who insist New Deal power projects are despotism, and Republicans in the West, of whom the President was thinking when he said, "I've got to give Charlie his dam."

Living Philosophies

XI. THE PURSUIT OF FREEDOM*

BY JACQUES MARITAIN

IT WAS after my conversion to Catholicism that I made the acquaintance of Saint Thomas. After my "passionate pilgrimage" among all the doctrines of modern philosophers, in whom I had discovered nothing but disenchantment and splendid uncertainties, I felt, as it were, an illumination of the reason. My vocation as philosopher became clear to me. And through thirty years of work and combat I have followed in this path, with a feeling that I could understand more completely the gropings, the discoveries, and the travail of modern thought as I tried to throw upon them the light of a wisdom which, resisting the fluctuations of time, has been worked out through the centuries.

In order to advance along this way we are constantly obliged to bring together singularly distant extremes, for no solution of our problems can be found ready-made in the legacy of the ancients. We are also obliged to make the difficult separation between the pure substance of those truths which many "moderns" reject as a mere jumble of the opinions of the past, and the dross of prejudice, worn-out expressions, and arbitrary constructions which many "traditionalists" confuse with that which really deserves intellectual veneration.

In the Middle Ages philosophy was usually treated as an instrument in the service of theology. Culturally, it was not in the state required by its nature. The coming of a philosophical or profane wisdom which had completed its own formulation, for itself and according to its own finalities, responded therefore to a historical necessity. But unfortunately this was accomplished under the emblem of separatism and a sectarian rationalism; Descartes *separated* philosophy from all higher wisdom, from everything in man which comes from above man. I am certain that what the world and civilization have lacked for three centuries has been a philosophy which would have developed its autonomous exigencies in a Christian climate, a wisdom of reason not closed but open to the wisdom of grace. Reason must battle today with an irrational deification of elemental and instinctive forces which threaten to ruin the whole of civilization. In this struggle reason's task is one of integration; understanding that the intelligence is not the enemy of mystery but rather lives by it, it must reenter into communication with the irrational world of instinct, as with the world of the will, of liberty, and of love, and with the supra-rational world of grace and the Divine Life.

The pursuit of supreme contemplation and the pursuit of supreme liberty are two aspects of the same thing. In the order of the spiritual life man aspires to perfect and absolute freedom, and therefore to a superhuman state. The men of wisdom of all times have given evidence of this. The function of the law is one of protection and education of liberty, the function of a pedagogue. At the conclusion of this tutelage the perfect man is freed from every servitude, even, St. Paul says, from the servitude of the law, because he does spontaneously what the law demands and is one spirit with the Creator.

The pursuit of liberty is still, to my way of thinking, at the bottom of the social and political problem. But here, in the order of temporal life, it is not a divine liberty which is the object of our desires but rather a liberty proportionate to the state of man and to the natural possibilities of his earthly existence. We must make no mistake about the nature of the object thus pursued. It is not simply the protection of free will in each of us, nor is it the liberty of power of the social community.

* Translated by Fenton Moran.

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It is the liberty of expansion of the human beings which make up a people and participate in its virtues. Organized society is intended to develop conditions of life in common which, while insuring first of all advantages and peace to the whole, help each person in a positive manner progressively to obtain that freedom of expansion which consists above all in the flowering of moral and rational life. So justice and love are the very foundations of the life of society, which places truly human advantages above all manner of material advantages, technical progress, and the implements of power. I believe historical conditions and the yet inferior state of development of humanity make it difficult for organized society fully to reach its objective, and that in respect to the possibilities which the Gospel develops in us and the demands it makes on us in the social-temporal domain, we are still in a prehistoric age. As we can see today in the psychoses of the masses which adore Stalin or Hitler, or dream of exterminating certain classes which they consider diabolical, such as "the reds" or "the fascists," or "the Jews," human collectivities bear such a burden of animality, easily inclined to morbidity, that it will take centuries still for human personality to be able to take on among the masses the breadth of life to which it aspires. We can see, then, that the objective toward which organized society tends is the common advantage of the multitude procured in such a manner that the individual person, not only the one belonging to a privileged class but all members of the mass, may truly reach that measure of independence which is proper to civilized life and which is insured by the economic guaranties of work and property, political rights, civic virtues, and cultivation of the mind.

These conceptions belong to a wider general view which seems to me most fittingly designated by the term "integral humanism," and which involves a whole philosophy of modern history. In the social-temporal order it does not call on man to sacrifice himself for any imperialism, be it of the race, of the class, or of the nation. It calls upon him to sacrifice himself to a better life for his brothers and to the concrete good of the community of human beings. Thus it can only be a heroic humanism.

It has often been remarked that middle-class liberalism, which tries to base everything on the individual considered as a little god and on his gracious pleasure, on absolute freedom of property, commerce, and the pleasures of life, must inevitably lead to a despotic paternalism of the state. Communism may be regarded as a reaction against this individualism. It claims to lead to the absolute release of man, who is supposed to become the god of history, but in reality this release, presuming that it were accomplished, would be that of man taken collectively, not of the individual. Society as an economic community would enslave the whole life of the person, because economic functions would become the essential work of civil society instead of serving the liberty of expansion of the person. We already see in Russia that what is represented as the release of man taken collectively means the enslavement of all individuals. As for the anti-communist and anti-individualist reactions of the totalitarian or dictatorial type, it is not in the name of the social community or of the liberty of man considered collectively but in the name of the sovereign dignity of the state, or of the spirit of a people, or of a race and blood, that they would turn man over bodily to a social entity in which the person of the chief is the only one to enjoy, properly speaking, the privileges of a human personality. This is why totalitarian states, having need of the entire devotion of persons for whom they have neither feeling nor respect, inevitably seek to find a principle of human exaltation in myths of external grandeur and in the never-ending struggle for power and prestige. By its very nature this leads to war and the self-destruction of the civilized community. If there are churchmen who count on dictatorships of this kind to promote the religion of Christ and Christian civilization, they forget that the totalitarian phenomenon is an aberrant religious phenomenon in which a kind of earthly mysticism devours every other sort of mysticism and will tolerate no other one besides itself.

Confronted with bourgeois liberalism, communism, and totalitarianism, what we need is a new solution, at the same time personalistic and communal, which views human society as the organization of liberties. We are thus led to a conception of democracy differing fundamentally from that of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, which we might call "pluralist," because it requires that the state insure the organic liberties of the different spiritual families and the different social bodies assembled within it, beginning with the natural basic community, the family. The tragedy of modern democracies is that under the appearances of an error—the deification of a fictitious individual closed to all realities from above—they have sought something good, the expansion of the personality open to realities from above and to the common service of justice and friendship. Our personalist democracy is really inconceivable without those super-elevations which nature and temporal civilizations receive, in their own order, from the energies of the Christian leaven.

I am certain that the coming of such a democracy, which presupposes class antagonism overcome, requires that we go beyond both capitalism and socialism, which are tainted by a materialistic conception of life.

We shall never give up the hope of a new Christendom, of a new temporal order inspired by Christianity. Now if it is true that the means must correspond to the end and are themselves the end, as it were, in the state of formation and preparation, it is then clear that in order to prepare a Christian social order, Christian means are needed, that is to say, means which are animated, even when they are perforce harsh, by a true spirit of love.

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The present state of the nations obliges us to record that never have the mind and the spirit been so thoroughly rebuffed in the world. In the end, however, pessimism is always the victim of its own deceit. It disregards the great law which might be called the law of the double-energy movement of history. While the wear and tear of time naturally dissipates and degrades the things of this world and the energy of history, the creative forces which are characteristic of the spirit and of liberty, and are also their witness, and which normally find their point of application in the effort of the few—destined thereby to sacrifice—constantly revitalize the quality of this energy. Such is the work accomplished in history by the sons of God; such is the work of Christians if they do not give the lie to their name.

This work is not understood at all if it is imagined that it claims to be able to set up a state in the world from which all evil and all injustice would be banished. Naturally, on this ground it would be too easy, in view of the results obtained, stupidly to dismiss Christians as Utopians. What the Christian has to do is to maintain and increase in the world an internal tension and that movement of slow and painful delivery which comes from the invisible powers of truth and justice, goodness and love, acting upon the mass in opposition to them. Woe to the world should the Christians turn their back on it, should they fail to do their job, which is to heighten here on earth the charge and tension of spirituality; should they listen to those blind leaders of the blind who seek the means to order and to good in things which are in their very nature dissolution and death.

One of the gravest lessons we learn from the experience of life is that in the practical behavior of most of us all those things which are in themselves good—science, technical progress, culture, the knowledge of moral laws, and even religious faith itself, faith in the living God (in the civil war in Spain the inhuman feelings which have swept over "crusaders" and "reds" both have demonstrated what we are saying)—all these things, *without love and good-will,* only serve to make men more wicked and more unhappy. This is because, without love and charity, man turns into evil the best that is in him.

Once we have understood this, we put our hope here on earth only in that good-will of which the Gospel speaks, in the obscure strength of a bit of real goodness which brings forth life without cease in the most hidden recesses of things. Nothing is more destitute, nothing is more secret, nothing is nearer to the weakness of childhood. And there is no more fundamental, no more effective wisdom than a simple and tenacious confidence—not in the weapons of force and cleverness and malice, which, though they always triumph at the outset, a grain of sand suffices to ruin—but in the resources of personal courage and good-will. Through this kind of lightness of heart flows the force of nature and of the Author of nature.

In the Wind

TO MANY newspapers the false report of a clash between French and Italian troops on the Tunisian border, with eighty-four killed, was headline news; a few treated it gingerly; and the CBS news broadcasters deliberately played it down. The most novel handling of the story was by the Louisville *Times,* which interviewed American army men and reported their skepticism of the report. They cited expectancy tables to show that if 84 men were killed, there must have been from 375 to 500 wounded, and almost 10,000 soldiers engaged. If a battle of that magnitude had been fought, they concluded, there would have been a good deal more news and less vagueness in the February 22 dispatches. They were right.

AFTER DEMOCRATIC and Republican chieftains in the House had announced where their respective caucuses would be held, Vito Marcantonio, lone American Labor Party Congressman, took the floor. He announced that his party's caucus would be held in a telephone booth on the main floor.

THE RESULTS of a certain recent Gallup poll received significantly little press comment. The survey showed that three out of four voters had never read or heard about the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, a token of the meager publicity given the hearings. In contrast, two out of three knew about the Dies committee; yet the La Follette committee has been functioning two years longer than the Dies committee.

IN THE course of the current Guild strike the Chicago Hearst papers have lost more than $500,000 in advertising revenue. . . . The Colorado legislature has set up a "little Dies committee" to probe "reds" in the state. . . . Money is being raised on the West Coast to finance broadcasts by Father Coughlin over stations there. . . . The new issue of *High Time,* published monthly by Communist employees of Time, Inc., reports that readers are using subscription cards—postage prepaid—to urge that the company use union printers. . . . William Pelley's fascist weekly *Liberation* solemnly reports that plans are on foot for the impeachment of President Roosevelt.

ANXIOUS TO reassure its American customers, J. Tanaka and Company, a Japanese seed company, prefaces its English catalogue with this announcement:

> OUR SEED GROWING DOES NOT DAMAGED BY THE CHINO-JAPANESE DIFFICULTY
>
> From some letters recently received from our oversea's customers, we are anxious that some of our friends are considering that our many stuffs were going to war, and our business were rotten, so we have to inform you that no one members of our stuffs has been going to the Chinese war, and also the war only doing in China. . . . In our country real peace coming at all times, as Japanese are lovers of PEACE. . . . If you have been received another reports from newspaper they are all demagogues whoppers from Chinese side.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

TWO comments on the German situation which have come to my attention lately have impressed me. One of them was in an article by Anne O'Hare McCormick—who, by the way, is doing fine work in the field of correspondence, better than almost anyone else—printed in the New York *Times* on March 4. She speaks of the mystery of Germany, which, she says, "deepens as you try to penetrate it. It is like a machine geared to top speed and running away. Nowhere in Europe is there anything like this motion, this tension, this fever of tearing down and building up. Berlin is in a turmoil of work and change. Everybody hurries and pushes, as people used to do in New York." That we have heard from others, but the significant thing in this article is that she can throw no light whatever upon who runs the machine. "To some destination," she says, "it is running at ever-increasing speed. But who decides where?" She says it is not Hitler, and she does not credit Göring with it, though he has developed great drive and executive ability. The bulk of the Nazi hierarchy is composed of "commonplace men, agitators who rattle around in their big jobs and live in their big expropriated mansions." Who is supplying the brains and the vision for what is indubitably an extraordinary administrative and creative undertaking?

I am sorry that Mrs. McCormick could not answer the question, because I have been asking it myself for several years. Germany has developed in the most extraordinary way since Hitler came in—on the physical side. The very face of the country is being made over. Berlin is being reconstructed on a huge scale and, as Mrs. McCormick testifies, practically overnight. When we think how long it takes us to get a PWA job going, to read that a suburban road in Berlin which last year curved through a deep forest is now lined with enormous apartment houses makes us wonder how it can be achieved with such speed. It takes, of course, not only amazing planning and a tremendous drive in construction never before associated with German industry, but also quick decisions and most elaborate allocation of the funds available. If this were being done by a humane and decent government, interested in benefiting all humanity and leading the world along the roads of justice and peace and good-fellowship, it would be really a wonder of the time. As it is, the explanation is the more difficult to obtain when one realizes how cast down and discouraged Germany was in the first fifteen years of the republic. Again one asks, Whence this sudden tremendous burst of creative energy?

Not that the republic did not do many remarkable things. Some of them I summarized in my book "The German Phenix." There was constructive work of a high order from 1918 to 1933, but it was not spectacular and, being decent and humane, naturally did not attract the attention of the world as have the brutalities of Hitler. Undoubtedly the republic lacked a showman, someone to dramatize its acts, to use the spotlight and the massing of flags and all the rest. Still that lack alone does not explain the difference, and one must wait eagerly for Mrs. McCormick or someone else to discover finally whence has come the present great impulse of the German nation, albeit along such utterly mistaken lines so far as human liberty and respect for laws and obligations are concerned.

The other thing that has impressed me is the following extract from a letter of a German woman who waited until she got out of Germany to write me of her horror at what has been happening there and to assure me that she had not met a single person in Germany who did not react to the pogrom of November 10 with the utmost "shame and disgust." She criticizes a great deal and envies me that I can speak out freely against what has happened. Then she declares that while millions of Germans protest against this phase or that of the Hitler regime, there is, on the other hand, "not one German who does not have the feeling that he is being used, that he is cooperating in a great undertaking, that something is happening, that things are being done, and that is something beautiful and it gives us a feeling of security not easily described." All of which is indubitably true; it will make the reaction in Germany frightful when the present illusion passes, when the whole truth is told and the national balance sheet totaled up with the crimes on one side and the physical achievements on the other.

All of which makes me mourn all the more that there has been no one connected with Mr. Roosevelt who could dramatize the great achievements of the New Deal; Mr. Roosevelt himself has failed utterly to make the country realize that it has been cooperating in a great undertaking, that something tremendous has been happening, and that taking part in it is a beautiful and inspiring experience. If people could only visualize all that has been done and recognize how much the physical plant alone has been improved, they could bear the New Deal's tremendous failures with greater resignation.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Nazi Koran

MEIN KAMPF. Complete, Unabridged, Fully Annotated. By Adolf Hitler. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.

MEIN KAMPF. Complete, Unauthorized, Unexpurgated. By Adolf Hitler. Stackpole Sons. $3.

"THE true test of faith," declared an early church father, "is to believe what is absurd." Every creed fascinates the faithful by an impressive gallery of heroes and saints and an elaborately verbalized mumbo-jumbo. Every creed requires a Sacred Book, preferably written by the Prophet, ostensibly inspired from on high, and invariably ponderous, bulky, difficult to read, obscure and ambiguous in its meanings, and heavily compounded of platitudes, homely wisdom, folklore, and mystic visions of tribal genesis, cosmic battle, and millennial salvation.

"Mein Kampf," acknowledged bible of National Socialism, follows the prescription closely. In the tradition of other seers, Hitler began the work in prison and dedicated it to the "martyrs" of the Beer Hall Putsch. Unlike "Das Kapital," it is devoid of intellectual content or any pretense of rationality. Unlike the Jewish and Christian sacred writings, it is devoid of poetic beauty or ethical catholicity, for its only song is that of fierce tribal fanaticism. Its author lays no direct claim to divine inspiration. But the pagan deity of *Deutschtum* glares malevolently from every page. This Giver of the Word belongs in the ranks of Mahomet, Joseph Smith, and Mary Baker Eddy in that he became the Leader of millions of converts during his lifetime. "Mein Kampf" differs from most holy writ in that it is vicious, vulgar, and violent. These qualities, however, are but a measure of that cultural degradation of which Hitlerism is the most complete contemporary expression.

This was not a work meant to convert alien infidels to fascism. Its appeal is only to *Deutschtum* and, within *Deutschtum,* only to the debased and debauched *Bürgertum* which found its soul by losing its mind. Der Führer has consequently opposed any full English or French translations. Anglo-Saxon heathenry has hitherto had no access to this scripture, except in the diluted and condensed translation by E. T. S. Dugdale issued here in 1933 by Houghton Mifflin. Now, by way of compensation, two full translations are made available simultaneously. Reynal and Hitchcock went to press by arrangement with Houghton Mifflin. They promise "profits to the refugees." Stackpole Sons asked for no authorization, on the assumption that Hitler's shift from Austrian to German citizenship in 1932 furnishes a legal loophole under copyright agreements. From either volume curious pagans may now discover what the faithful Nazi believes and what manner of man the Führer once conceived himself to be.

As for the merits of the two versions, both offer competent translations of Hitler's crude German. Both were rushed into print at top speed. Both lack an index, though Reynal and Hitchcock promise one in the second printing. The Stackpole edition, with a preface by Ludwig Lore, has fewer pages but is larger in format and bulk. Reynal and Hitchcock offer as special attractions a sketch map; an introduction by a distinguished editorial board; a topical table of contents; an appendix of early party posters; the text of the party program of 1920; and numerous historical and analytical notes.

Most readers will doubtless peruse these pages in the hope of finding answers to the perennial question: What will Hitler do next? They will not be disappointed, for the Leader follows his blueprint closely. His general objectives, domestic and foreign, are set forth as frankly as his prejudices, his background, his propaganda technique, his racial mythology, his megalomania, and his views of the nature of the world and of man. And in the light of current hopes and fears in Paris and London, it is worthy of note that Hitler's *Drang nach Osten* and his promised crusade against Moscow were postulated upon a supposition that has not materialized —that is, the "disintegration" of the Russian state under the impact of the "Jewish ferment of decomposition"—and that the prerequisite of eastward expansion was (and still is) an alliance with Italy and Britain to bring about the "annihilation" of France. This objective also bids fair to be realized.

What is missing in "Mein Kampf" is as important as what is present. Here are the symbols by which Hitler recruited a mass following among psychotic little men. But the other, and more significant, half of fascist strategy is not here revealed. When he completed the second volume of this work, Hitler already knew that he could count upon his enemies and future victims to rescue him. But he could scarcely anticipate that he would be put into power by precisely those Germans whom he was sworn to destroy, nor could he quite guess that the Third Reich would be granted hegemony over Europe by the very democratic powers he was pledged to annihilate. Hitler's best allies have ever been those who have actively aided him to consummate their own ruin under the delusion that he was thereby "saving" them from a worse fate. Fascism can be stopped only by force. But the élite of the decadent West have consistently refused to use force, not out of fear that they would lose in a contest of arms, but out of fear that they would win! Whom the gods would destroy they first induce to save the savior who is in reality their own nemesis.

This suicidal mania is the counterpart and complement of Hitler's neuroses and his sadistic drive toward omnipotence. "Mein Kampf" is half the record of the psychopathology of the twentieth century. The other half is not thus conveniently available in a single volume. But those with eyes to see will find much of clinical interest in the words and deeds of such "statesmen" as Blum, Laval, Londonderry, Chamberlain, Eden, Bonnet, and Daladier. Thanks to them the absurdities of "Mein Kampf" are successively translated into fact. And, since it is later than we think and it is already happening here, two names may be added to the roll of dishonor: Sumner Welles and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Chinese and Spaniards will understand why they deserve inclusion.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

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The Scientist and the World

DOCTOR ADDAMS. By Irving Fineman. Random House. $2.50.

IN 1650, when England had beheaded a king and was in the throes of revolution, William Harvey, who had published his famous treatise on the circulation of the blood twenty-two years before, was asked "if all were well with him." "How can that he," he replied, "when the state is so agitated with storms and I myself am yet in the open sea?" Sir Isaac Newton, whose long life was as fully occupied with pure science as any man's before or since, served in Parliament on three different occasions, was active in a dispute between Cambridge University and the crown, was for the last thirty-three years of his life warden and then master of the mint, and was president of the Royal Society for twenty-five years.

This random information will nevertheless indicate that the problem of the scientist's relation to the world of affairs, with which Mr. Fineman occupies himself in his new novel, is by no means a new one. We are too prone to think of the contemporary world as somehow unique. When we read that Mr. Fineman's book is in the direct tradition of "Arrowsmith," but that it is concerned with "pressing problems that did not even exist when Sinclair Lewis's character was created" we may doubt. If this statement has any truth, it is only in a superficial way. The problem of socialized medicine is perhaps new; but race prejudice is as old as history; and the scientist's difficulties with respect to love and marriage, which is Mr. Fineman's other theme, are hardly peculiar to our own times.

Dr. Addams is a biophysicist in the pay of a large foundation doing research on the subject of procreation in all its manifestations. The foundation itself, depending for its support on the capricious attention of wealthy men, is blown upon by all the winds of current doctrine and superstition. Jews who work for it are likely to have a hard time; "radicals" are suspect; doctors who prefer to do their work, whether it be clinical or in research, in "groups" sooner or later get into trouble. Dr. Addams prefers his laboratory to contact with patients outside it. He is performing experiments which may be of the greatest ultimate benefit to mankind; but he refuses to concern himself with improving society so that his scientific results can be the more readily put into practice. While the medical congress at which he is a lecturer is torn apart by discussions of socialized medicine, he goes on writing abstruse mathematical equations on the blackboard before a steadily diminishing group of listeners.

All this is interesting and highly pertinent not only as a contemporary problem but as a continuing struggle between the present and the future, between theory and practice, between man's unhappy body, which needs food as well as healing, and his restless mind. Mr. Fineman has stated the problem with the most impressive documentation, with scientific data which are as fascinating as they are sometimes difficult to read; his characters illustrate the variations in his argument and at the same time are recognizable men in a recognizable world. His Doctor Addams is a likable fellow, credible as a scientist and as a perplexed human being.

The conflict between science and the world, however, is not his only trouble. The other is love. Most of Mr. Fineman's doctors are troubled by love. It is perhaps unfair to hold an author responsible for the description on the jacket of his book. But when we read of these characters that "scientific knowledge has freed them from moral restraints" we may not only doubt but smile. It is as if we were to say, "My knowledge of French has cured my indigestion." Dr. Addams, as is certainly not surprising, finds that his scientific knowledge and his love affairs do not seem to have much to do with each other. His marriage is not a success; his subsequent "free" relationship with a woman who is combined lover, nurse, and mother is not a success either. Mr. Fineman's scientific conversations, esoteric as many of them are, are nevertheless unfailingly interesting. His conversations about love are interesting only if you like that sort of thing and like a lot of it. His heroine who learns about life, love, and herself by going to bed with most of her medical colleagues and then by marrying one of them in order to have children and a proper family life has appeared in fiction before, though never perhaps in as much detail. She is Woman, the helpmeet, the healer, man's solace and restorer. As a person, despite Mr. Fineman's evident care, she hardly exists. Compared to the head of the medical foundation, a niggling fellow who plays politics because he has not the strength to do anything else, or even to the perturbed Dr. Addams himself, or his humanistic New England father, she has about as much life as a sheet of decorative blotting-paper or a feather-bed.

In "Dr. Addams," in short, science and society are absorbing, love is pretty much of a bore. Which is no reason why an adult reader cannot read it with both pleasure and profit.

DOROTHY VAN DOREN

The Road That Led to Munich

BETRAYAL IN CENTRAL EUROPE. By G. E. R. Gedye. Harper and Brothers. $3.

EUROPE IN RETREAT. By Vera Micheles Dean. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

THESE two books—the first a vivid record of events by the New York *Times* correspondent in Central Europe; the second a concise study and brilliant analysis of the forces behind these events by the research director of the Foreign Policy Association—make one feel hopeful because their clarity and spirit stand in such happy contrast to the defeatism of the day. Both books deal with the period of historic changes in the map of Europe which started a year ago with Schuschnigg's secret visit to Berchtesgaden and ended, for the time being, with the march of the new German army into Czechoslovakia.

G. E. R. Gedye arrived in Vienna in the summer of 1925 and had his first breakfast, *Kaffee mit Schlag,* on the sunny terrace of the Cafe Heinrichshof. Vienna, the beautiful city of crass psychological contradictions, remained his headquarters for thirteen years, till he was expelled by the Nazi Gestapo for sending truthful dispatches. Two-thirds of his book deals with Austria, the last third with Czechoslovakia, where he went from Vienna in order to remain on his job.

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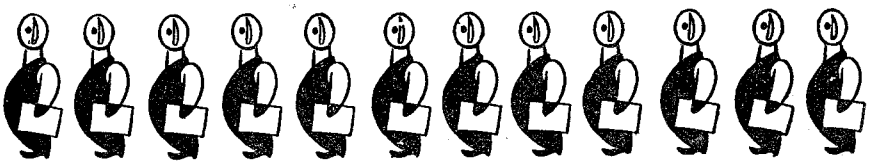
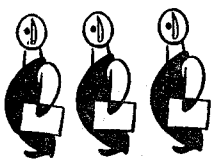


Are YOU getting FULL MEASURE for your dollar?



Without accurate, reliable *information on the* comparative value of *competing brands your everyday buying can be a wasteful business.* With *it, you can save substantial sums. This month,* CU Reports *helps consumers save money by reporting on soap, canned peaches and asparagus, tea, men's topcoats, can openers, and juice extractors.*

"We will eat a bar of it while doing handsprings up Fifth Avenue"

"If any soap is soothing to any kind of skin," says *Soap*, the leading trade magazine of the soap industry, "we will eat a bar of it while doing handsprings up Fifth Avenue."

With the same engaging candor, *Soap* states, "To him who would advertise successfully in the intensive competitive fight for soap business, not too much attention can be paid to these minor details such as scientific exactness, strict adherence to proved facts, and misleading implications."

With these findings, the results of recently completed tests of toilet soaps, published in this month's issue of *Consumers Union Reports,* agree. Over 150 brands are rated by name, for price and quality (you can pay anywhere from 50c to $1.97 per pound of dry soap for certain brands but get better quality for only 9.1c); those that may irritate or actually damage the skin are pointed out.

It's Illegal, but . . .

. . . plenty of packers put less peaches into their cans than the law requires. The names of the 21 out of 36 brands of canned peaches tested by CU which were illegally slack-filled are given in this report. Another report gives price and quality ratings of 39 brands of canned asparagus and asparagus tips.

Good bills and bad bills . . . A bad one costs consumers plenty

New food and drug bills are now pending in 13 states. In an article describing this legislation, the bills which should be vigorously backed and those which should be opposed are pointed out. In another article the effects of the Miller-Tydings price-fixing act—now in operation a year and a half—are discussed. The results of studies showing that this law has cost consumers many thousands of dollars are noted.

How to be rich and successful . . .

The dazzling promises of correspondence school ads are analyzed and clues given for determining which schools are fakes and which are honest. Many an impressively-titled "institute" is but a one-room office in an obscure business building. Hundreds have been proceeded against by Federal authorities for fraudulent practices.

"A major crime in gastronomy"

"We buy it ignorantly, prepare it abominably . . ." says a recent article on tea in a popular magazine. Far be it from Consumers Union to concur in a sweeping statement like this, but there is something to what this writer says. To help American tea drinkers acquire skill in tea purchasing, 40 brands of black, mixed, oolong and English Breakfast tea were given taste tests by tea experts and rated by name. Instructions on how to prepare tea properly are given and current advertising claims to the effect that tea "peps you up" are analyzed.

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"Betrayal in Central Europe" is not a rehash of newspaper articles. It is a remarkably homogeneous account of vast experiences, written under the sway of the terrific emotions which swept Central Europe last summer and fall when history was being enacted with all the suspense of a grandiose and cruel melodrama. This suspense is felt almost in spite of the writer, who simply tells all he knows, all he sees—always speaking straight from his heart. On page after page an immense amount of material is piled up: little incidents and great actions; the contours and the content of personalities, whether they are key men, hypocritical servants of hidden powers, or just common citizens who want to live; the atmosphere of streets and countrysides in critical and in peaceful moments; the unseen spinning of intrigues of far-reaching consequences; monetary and military problems; private pleasures and public functions—a whole world is pictured as this world really was. I know that world, and I have never read a better journalistic account of it.

Take the sketch of the thin-lipped Monsignor Ignaz Seipel, the Catholic priest whom the workers of Vienna called the "no-mercy cardinal." Austrian chancellor in the twenties and ruler of the country till his death and afterward through his pupils Dollfuss and Schuschnigg, he was obsessed by ambitions entirely out of proportion to the needs of a small country of only six million inhabitants. He organized the Heimwehr as an arch-enemy of socialism even in its reformist Austrian form, and inaugurated the artificial course of atavistic reaction which led his successors and his country to their bloody suicidal end. One cannot understand the post-war history of Central Europe without knowing the "no-mercy cardinal" and his philosophy. Gedye makes this difficult, sly character and his fateful politics absolutely clear. Equally plastic is the sketch of Seipel's Socialist opponent on the Austrian political stage, the "Bolshevik" Otto Bauer, who fought with "spiritual weapons" till it was too late—the Christian Fascists used cannon and gibbet to crush this most peaceful and most European section of Austria's population while a third party, the Nazis, laughed. One would like to emphasize the merits of each chapter, but that is impossible in a short review. I will simply say that Mr. Gedye's history of the Austrian Republic is the best on record.

In Prague the English-born correspondent reports with shame the next act of the drama. (We still remember how we waited for his dispatches day by day.) Now the marionettes Henlein and Runciman come on the stage and entertain us with their ghastly tricks till their masters show themselves in Berchtesgaden, Godesberg, and Munich. The great and noble illusion of democratic solidarity which deceived the Czech people and their leaders explodes with a shock felt around the world. The author was one of the few Englishmen who understood the importance of Central Europe for the Western world. He also knew the true intentions of the Nazis. He therefore favored resistance. He is still convinced that Hitler would not have dared to fight had England and France told him in time not to touch Czechoslovakia. And he has many cogent arguments to prove that if war had broken out, Hitler and the whole Nazi plague with him would have perished. As for the French and English ruling classes who prefer fascism to socialism, he quotes a lady who compared fascism with a drought and socialism with a flood and said to her troubled husband who feared both: "When the drought has passed, it leaves behind it an arid desert where nothing can live. After the flood subsides, new forms of life spring up, some monstrous, some young, vigorous, and healthy —we see it in this world of ours today. I think, dear, that you and I could never choose the drought." With the question "And You?" the book closes. Any reader who starts it will, after an exciting experience, arrive at this question—and will have no peace until he makes up his mind how to answer.

Vera Micheles Dean starts with an analysis of "Mein Kampf," which she calls a new edition of pan-Germanism. She sees German imperialism as a young buccaneer who is disturbing the peace of many satisfied and retired pirates. Into this conceptual scheme the post-war development of Europe is fitted move by move—France attempting to block Germany, Hitler counter-attacking. The diplomatic struggle between the status quo group and the rest of Europe since Versailles is retold excellently and briefly and with an admirable knowledge of the complicated forces at work in the hundred conferences which culminated in the Munich accord. Mrs. Dean disentangles the diplomatic wires leading to the Bavarian capital, and in posing all the questions which the Big Four did not answer she takes pains to draw the highly necessary distinction between established fact and conjecture. Her book is a marvel of objectivity, but a very definite point of view is taken. Her last sentence reads: "If the Western world is to prevail over fascism it must redefine, in equally dynamic terms, the ideas it offers as an alternative, and correct those grievances against democracy which in the past have proved Hitler's most effective allies."

The newspaper correspondent lived in the midst of events which the research worker scrutinizes from a more detached observation point. Both books are "must" books for people who do not merely cherish their prejudices but want to live conscientiously and honestly. FRANZ HOELLERING

After the Ghetto

EAST OF EDEN. By I. J. Singer. Translated from the Yiddish by Maurice Samuel. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

IT IS startling to realize that we have nurtured on our doorstep a foreign literature of major proportions. In the short space of fifty years since the first Yiddish newspaper was issued, New York City has become the literary capital of the Yiddish-speaking world. Its most prominent authors live and write here—and first publish their work in the daily press. To them America has been, not the land of material opportunity, but the land of spiritual release, since in circumstances of democracy they were able to develop their gifts as they never could have done in Eastern Europe.

Yet Yiddish literature, in spite of its high development, is still extremely close to its folk culture. Although the various movements of reform and enlightenment encompassed the Jews of Western Europe in the time of Napoleon, it was not they who made Yiddish literature. To the Jews in Poland and Galicia, in Russia and in the Ukraine, a day in 1913 was hardly distinguishable from a day in 1773. Not until the World War was there any real change in the tenor of their

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life. Therefore it is not surprising that the majority of Yiddish novels begin in the timeless existence of the ghetto; and there can be hardly a Yiddish reader to whom the transition from its medieval culture, hermetically sealed and preserved by religious customs, to the outer world of politics and revolution, science and mass-production, is not the greatest of all dramatic themes.

This at first appears to be the theme of "East of Eden." The first third of the book is a magnificent picture of the unchanging life of the Jewish quarter of a Polish village. Each Sunday Reb Mattes the peddler shoulders his pack of mirrors, needles, thread, aprons, and thimbles and plods out along the dusty roads from Pyask. Each Friday night he returns to spend a day with his family in their poor hovel; each year his wife bears him a daughter. When at last she gives birth to a son, Nachman, in Reb Mattes's heart there flares that great ambition of all poor Jews—to educate his son to be a rabbi. The scrimping and saving to pay the boy's *cheder* fees, the death of the boy's mother and Mattes's second marriage, the flight of Schiendel from her stepmother's torments to domestic service in Warsaw—all this flows by in a rich narrative.

And then suddenly Schiendel comes home and gives birth to an illegitimate child. Mattes and his family are forced to flee from the scandal to the oblivion of a crowded Warsaw tenement. Up to this time "East of Eden" has been the story of Mattes, and the reader has come to share his gentle dreams and hopes. But once in Warsaw the whole focus of the book changes. At the cost of alienating the reader's sympathy, Mattes is roughly demoted from his position as the central character of the novel. The opening sentence of the second section sets the new tempo: "A war demonstration was pouring tumultuously through the principal streets of Warsaw." With the turning of a page we have stepped from an ancient into a modern world—and for the first time the action is dated. It is 1914.

Singer must have felt that Mattes's comprehensions were too narrow to present this new world through his eyes. He therefore swiftly disposes of him in an early battle of the war, and makes Nachman his central character. In doing this he risks much, for he violates the great pattern to which the best realistic novels since "Madame Bovary" have adhered: the shattering of a dream by reality. Before Mattes's dream can be shattered, we are offered Nachman's dream—and a very different dream it is. In Warsaw he abandons his studies, becomes a baker's apprentice, falls under the spell of Comrade Daniel, a Communist organizer, and learns to dream of a proletarian Utopia. Eden is to the east, in the new land of Soviet Russia. It is to the east that Daniel forever gestures during his stump speeches, which Singer characterizes as hypocritical and demagogic. At this point the whole novel seems to be wrenched apart to make place for a harsh, opinionated, and acrimonious attack upon the Soviet Union, and we come to perceive why Mattes was so swiftly slaughtered. We remember that "East of Eden" was serialized in a New York newspaper. If the Yiddish press has assisted in a literary renaissance, it has also cultivated perfervid political attitudes in its contributors.

It matters not in the least, from the point of view of literature, whether Singer likes the Soviet Union or not. It does

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matter that the tone of a hitherto fine novel is debased by political pamphleteering. When he deals with Daniel, Singer abandons his patient, creative methods; his characterization amounts to little more than this: because Daniel is a Communist, he is a rogue.

For his new beliefs and revolutionary activities Nachman suffers beatings, torture, and eight years of imprisonment. Broken in body, he thinks that he has earned the right to go to the promised land to the east. But he finds that while it is easy for powerful bureaucrats like Daniel to escape when danger threatens, the Soviet authorities insist that it is still his duty to make the revolution in Poland. Nevertheless, he sneaks over the border. When he finally proves that he is not a spy, he is granted citizenship and put to work in a bakery. He hopes to serve his new country well, but he is depressed by the long hours and miserable pay, by the corruption and sabotage, and by the gloomy disappointment of the workers. Although his protest takes the innocuous form of opposing the punishment of a fellow-worker for drunkenness, he is arrested as a spy and a saboteur. With the treason trials in mind Singer attempts to show with what malevolent skill the authorities piece their charges together. Once again, just as in Poland, Nachman goes through the whole round of imprisonment and torture. This time, no longer sustained by his dream, he yields. The confession that is extorted from him becomes the foundation for a new treason trial, but his own punishment is merely expulsion from Eden.

Is this a novel of the transition of the Jews from a medieval to a modern world? If so, of what pertinence is the detailed analysis of Russian economic conditions? Or if this is an exposition of bureaucratic mismanagement and despotism in the Soviet Union—of which Singer's first-hand knowledge seems to date from 1922—why the stress upon Jewish life? Only by the most charitable effort can one uncover a unifying theme: the futility of Jewish meddling in nationalist politics, and the ineffectualness of the idealism of Mattes and Nachman in the modern world.

HAROLD STRAUSS

DRAMA

The Swing Mikado

I DO not know what either Savoyards on the one hand or swing addicts on the other think of "The Mikado" as produced by the Federal Theater and sung by an all-Negro company. The general public, however, enjoyed it mightily and so did I, for it is a rousing and hilarious entertainment in its own right whatever it may be when considered as an "interpretation" of Mr. Gilbert's text and Mr. Sullivan's music. Both of these are adhered to most of the time with superficial fidelity, and the novelty of the effect produced is due less to the "swing" arrangements used repeatedly as encores than to a clash of temperaments—to what results when the work of two Victorian gentlemen is taken in hand by a company of enthusiasts who never heard of the Savoy tradition but who are quite willing to "express themselves" in connection with "The Mikado" or

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anything else. Occasionally it is quite evident that a particular performer does not know what a particular song or a particular bit of business is all about; more often he succeeds somehow in so reinterpreting it that one is almost ready to swear that the original intention of the authors was to be, not politely fantastic, but as rowdy as it all now seems.

The scene has been transferred to some tropical isle, and though the members of the opening chorus still introduce themselves as "gentlemen of Japan," all that is soon forgotten amid goings on under the bamboo tree which certainly do not suggest anything to be seen "on many a screen and jar." Mr. Gilbert, stickler that he was for propriety, would be shocked to see any members of his company of ladies and gentlemen comporting themselves as Nanki-Poo and Yum-Yum do in that scene where they show each other just how they would behave if love-making between them were permissible; he would also, I think, marvel at the completeness with which mere intonation and emphasis transformed the ballad of the dicky-bird into an unmistakable coon song. Not all the performers have good voices; one or two, as a matter of fact, have almost no voices at all; but everyone attacks everything with such vigor and such enthusiasm that one soon forgets all else and is carried along through thick and thin on a wave of uncritical delight.

At least one or two of the novel "swing" arrangements —notably those of "Three Little Maids from School" and "The Flowers That Bloom in the Spring"—seemed to me extraordinarily exhilarating, and so did the wild dancing which went with the latter. Certainly the whole is a triumph of main force and high spirits rather than of any sort of finish, but it is a triumph nevertheless. I should add that it is now current at the New Yorker Theater, where, I venture to prophesy, it will remain almost as long as the six months it played in Chicago.

Two recent comedies—"Miss Swan Expects" by Bella and Samuel Spewack and something called "Off to Buffalo"—disappeared before my comments, which were nothing worth waiting for, could appear in print. I should not be too much surprised if a similar fate should overtake "Close Quarters" (Golden Theater), a two-character tour de force said to have enjoyed a considerable run in London. The acting of Elena Miramova and Leo Chalzel is much more than ordinarily good, and the play itself is an ingeniously constructed shocker, but an evening-long appeal to a single emotion grows monotonous, especially when the emotion happens to be apprehension. The two characters are expecting to be arrested for a murder which one of them committed, and they kill themselves when they can endure the suspense no longer. A few seconds later the audience knows that there was no evidence against them.

At the Windsor Theater a revival of Clifford Odets's "Awake and Sing" is alternating with the same author's "Rocket to the Moon." Seeing the earlier play again convinced me that I was right when I found the original production extraordinarily interesting.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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MUSIC

IF, glancing through announcements of piano recitals with their stereotyped program sequences, you encountered a program that comprised Schubert's Sonata in C minor, Weber's Sonata in A flat, and Beethoven's "Hammerklavier" Sonata, you might suspect that behind this different program was a pianist with different qualities of mind and feeling that caused him to be interested in different music and to hold a different view of his function as a public performer: the view that this function was to concern himself with music of great significance and to present himself to the public as an interpreter of such music. You would expect this attitude and the qualities behind it to show themselves also in his playing; and at the recital on February 24 you would find this to be true of Schnabel's performance. Not one sound had any purpose other than illumination of the music; the greatness of the performances was apparent only in the greatness they revealed in Schubert and Beethoven; and in the playing that created such startlingly heightened significance in each phrase, so startling an order in what had previously appeared to be the rambling finale of Schubert's sonata, one heard evidence of extraordinary powers of integration—integration of experience and emotion inside, which expressed itself in integration of the music outside.

A musical phrase which we think of in its entirety is heard as a succession of sounds: its significance is in the relations established among these sounds by timing and force; and no pianist I have heard has, by his timing and coloring of the sounds, brought them into dynamically continuous and significant relations in the way Schnabel has. These are the relations of things arranged in a design, a form; and one may say that the composer's written score, in prescribing exactly what sounds to produce but only approximately their duration and degree of force, indicates only roughly a shape—whether of phrase or of large structure—to which the pianist must give sharp definition with precise degrees of force and durations of time. And I would say then that no pianist I have heard has shaped a piece of music in a way that integrated its details, brought them into significant relations with each other, as Schnabel has.

What he does requires a powerful mind, but one that requires powerful emotions to work with. It cannot be done without long thought, but it cannot be done with cold calculation. It can be done only by someone who feels in a sequence of sounds what it was that caused Beethoven or Schubert to create it, and who knows from this the relations that must exist between each sound and the next, the shape the sequence must have, for it to fulfil the intention embodied in it. And the lifetime of thought and feeling behind the performance goes to create something that sounds as though it were being felt and thought through for the first time.

There were vacant seats at Schnabel's recital; but in the program one read that only standing-room was left for Josef Hofmann's recital on March 26; and earlier Hofmann had advertised the fact that he would play Beethoven's "Moonlight" Sonata and Liszt's "Liebestraum." From his programs

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of the past twenty-five years I predict that he will also play small pieces by Chopin, including the "Minute" Waltz, Liadov's "Music-Box," Mendelssohn's Spring Song, Rubinstein's Melody in F, Moszkowski's "Juggleress," and Rachmaninov's most famous Prelude, or their equivalents. From these you might suspect that Hofmann was a different sort of pianist from Schnabel—with different qualities that caused him to hold a different view of his function as a public performer, to play different music, to play this music in a different way. And you would be right: Hofmann—about whom there has been such an outpouring of effulgent words in the press recently—presents one of the worst examples of the virtuoso career.

The virtuoso pianist presents himself to his audience for the same purpose as the acrobat—to show all the things he can do with his instrument and with the music; and he regards the instrument and music in the way the acrobat regards his trapeze—as things to be used for his purpose. In his youth he learned his pianistic and musical tricks in a certain number of works; and since then he has used the same works to show off his pianistic and musical tricks. Thus, in the twenty-five years that I have heard Hofmann he has gone on recombining into programs of one pattern the limited group of works that he learned fairly early—a group that has included a large quantity of trashy salon and display pieces but not one sonata by Mozart or Schubert (he has played Liszt's Concerto in E flat and both concertos of Rubinstein, but not one by Mozart.) And in his playing of these works there have been such things as the left-hand octaves crashed out sensationally to achieve nothing more than left-hand octaves crashed out sensationally; the series of notes extracted from within accompaniment chords and brought out as a counter-melody which the composer never dreamed of; the Brahms variation or the exposition of a Chopin sonata played with one set of crescendos, decrescendos, and rubatos the first time and another set the second time—each set for no other apparent reason than to show he could think up crescendos, decrescendos, and rubatos different from the composer's, and the two sets for no other apparent reason than to show he could think up two sets different from the composer's—things which have added up on occasion to some of the worst performances of music I have ever heard.

Most recitals are given by other Hofmanns big and small; in a few the conventional recital program is analogous to a conventional form like the sonnet: it acquires interest and distinction from its use by musicians of taste. This may be said of the 'cello recital, this season, of Emanuel Feuermann, the violin recital of Orrea Pernel, the Lieder recital of Gertrud Pitzinger. As for Szigeti, the normal continuity of his phrasing was destroyed this time by its abnormal intensity—the effort to crowd into one note meaning enough for the entire phrase.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Gadfly to Chicago

Dear Sirs: Milton Mayer is an effective writer and a gadfly to Chicagoans. His latest sting, "It's Hell to Be a Chicago Liberal," in *The Nation* of February 25, has provoked considerable discussion, including a snorting *Daily News* editorial on February 27 rephrasing Mayer's title as "A Chicago Liberal Is a Hell of a Liberal."

In this placid discussion neither Mayer nor the *News* nor anybody else is qualified to speak for "Chicago's liberals." The supporters of the Committee to Draft Ickes for Mayor did not switch to Kelly as a bloc; they formed an independent group named A Better Chicago League to push a program for Chicago, and the league did not indorse a candidate. Though many of its sponsors favored Kelly, some supported Courtney. What, then, did the "Chicago liberals" do? What is a "Chicago liberal?"

I object to Mayer's Delphic gloom: "the worst city in America went right on getting worse and is going to get worse faster from now on," whereas "national reformism" had left its mark on "most American cities." This highly generalized thesis that a liberal national Administration has reformed most cities is doubtful at best. The condemnation of Chicago is sweeping enough to be silly.

In the sense that a "liberal" is one seeking new social adjustments, a liberal is generally not with a majority and to this extent has a hell of a part to play everywhere, at all times.

ROBERT ACKERBERG, JR.

Chicago, March 9

Of Interest to Consumers

Dear Sirs: In Helen Woodward's column in *The Nation* of February 18 a reader asked about the National Consumers Tax Commission. May I call your attention to the December issue of *Propaganda Analysis,* which is devoted entirely to explaining the connection of the A. and P. Company with this organization? Also in the November issue of the *N. C. T. C. News,* the monthly publication of the National Consumers Tax Commission, is the following statement: "The National Consumers Tax Commission is gratified to announce that John A. Hartford, president of the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, has pledged the big retail organization to 'go along as far as it is necessary for us to go to see that your work is not hampered by lack of funds.' "

To your list of organizations interested in the consumer I should like to add the National League of Woman Voters, which has supported the TVA as a yardstick, worked for an adequate food-and-drug law, and is still working for grading of canned goods, against price fixing, and for tariffs which will lower prices for the consumer.

ELIZABETH KELLERS

Montclair, N. J., March 1

Birth-Control and Public Health

Dear Sirs: The President's Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare has recommended a health program at an estimated cost of $850,000,000. Millions of this sum will be requested for the purpose of reducing infant and maternal deaths.

Addressing a Conference on Better Care for Mothers and Babies, at Washington, in January, 1938, the Surgeon General said: "The 12,544 mothers who died as a result of conditions of pregnancy and childbirth in 1935 do not represent the whole of the loss from child bearing . . . for there were more than 60,000 babies who died two weeks after birth and more than 77,000 recorded still-births. In other words, there occur in the country each year more than 150,000 deaths, 60 per cent of which are needlessly lost, because of the mismanagement of the child-bearing function." He also stated: "Approximately one million children are born each year to families on relief or with an annual income of less than $1,000." (Among this group is found the highest death-rate of mothers and infants.)

Breaking down these 150,000 deaths, 90,000 of which are unnecessary, with the aid of statistics from the Public Health Service, we find that five out of every six babies born to untreated syphilitic mothers will be born dead or infected; one out of every eleven babies will die or be born syphilitic, even if mothers have received adequate treatment before the fifth month of pregnancy; two out of every five babies will die or be infected even if adequate treatment is given the mother after the fifth month of pregnancy; there were 25,000 still-births in one recent year because the mothers suffered from venereal disease.

Birth-control is one weapon by which these appalling conditions can be combated. Yet the Children's Bureau, the United States Public Health Service, and the Departments of Health of the several states, with the notable exception of North Carolina, take a neutral or negative stand on giving out birth-control information.

J. F.

Baltimore, Md., March 7

Correction

The drawing of Pius XII attributed to George Schreiber in last week's issue was by Bert Hayden.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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HAROLD STRAUSS is a frequent contributor of book reviews to *The Nation.*

HELEN WOODWARD'S column "Pocket Guide" was unavoidably omitted from this issue.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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